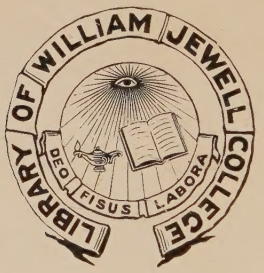
# HANDBOOK OF FRENCH AND BELGIAN PROTESTANTISM

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Le Foyer Détruit (The Home Destroyed).

HANDBOOK OF

# FRENCH AND BELGIAN PROTESTANTISM

PREPARED BY

LOUISE SEYMOUR HOUGHTON

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Old Huguenot seal

# PREFACE

The purpose of this book is twofold. First: to give accurate information as to Protestantism in France from the earliest days to the present time. This purpose could by no means have been accomplished without the aid of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America in securing, and the Protestant Federation of France in procuring, precise data such as are especially to be found in Part II of this volume. Particularly is the gratitude of the compiler due to the generous interest and valuable help of such eminent French Protestants as Dean Emile Doumergue, D.D., of the Theological Faculty of Montauban, Professor John Viénot of the Theological Faculty of Paris, M. E. Gruner, President of the French Protestant Federation, and Pastor Jules Pfender, President of the Permanent Committee, Wilfred Monod, D.D., Pastor of the Church of the Oratoire, Professor of the Paris Theological Faculty and President of the General Synod of the National Union of Reformed Churches, M. André Weiss, of the Paris Faculty of Law, M. Frank Puaux, President of the French Protestant Historical Society, of Pastors Charles Merle d'Aubigné, D.D., of the Central (Home Mission) Society, Jean Bianquis, General Secretary, and Daniel Couve, Associate Secretary of the Paris Foreign Missionary Society, of Pastor Benjamin Couve, D.D., President of the Paris Consistory of Evangelical Reformed Churches, Pastor H. Bach, President of the

Paris Consistory of Lutheran Churches, Rev. André Monod, General Secretary of the Protestant Federation of Churches, and M. Cornélis de Witt, President of the Protestant Committee for Aid in Devastated Regions, of Pastor J. de Vismes of that Committee, of the Rev. Chauncey W. Goodrich, D.D., of the American Church in the rue de Berri, Paris, of the Revs. A. Blocher, Henri Anet, D.D., of the Belgian Missionary Churches, and Major Pierre Blommaert, Chief of Protestant Chaplains in the Belgian Army; to all of whom warm thanks are here tendered.

Second: to inspire American Christians of every denomination with love and reverence for their brethren of France—doubly theirs now by the blood-brotherhood of the French "Field of Honor"—and to rouse the impulse to aid and serve them by all possible means. To this end nothing can be more effective than the study of Huguenot history. In the present case, notwithstanding thirty years of devoted study of this stubject, the first part of this Handbook could not have been made entirely authoritative without the aid of several of the Frenchmen already mentioned, and of certain visitors from foreign parts, now in this country. To know how the persecuted Huguenots and Lutherans of France and Belgium through long generations kept the faith, how they were loyal at once to God, to earthly sovereigns and to truth, how they bravely endured torture, imprisonment, the galleys, martyrdom, exile, destitution, supported by an indomitable hope, how for generations the "Church under the Cross," whose emblem was the burning bush, —ever burning but never consumed,—kept alive in "the Desert" the faith of Jesus Christ—to know all this is to

know the most thrilling story of modern Church history. Of necessity this story has here been briefly told, yet not so briefly, it may be hoped, as to fail of its message of inspiration. In proportion as American Christians lend their help and prayers to a body of Christians so ably endowed to promote the Kingdom of God on earth, so much the sooner will that word of Christ become a present truth: "I have overcome the world!"

The collaboration of Dr. Charles S. Macfarland and of Dr. Eddison Mosiman has counted for much in the character and value of this book. It was undertaken by the request of Dr. Macfarland and carries out his plans as to structure and contents. His visits to France made him an effective medium between the wishes and purposes of French and American church leaders, by which the book as it stands has greatly profited; while in this country Dr. Mosiman's unflagging interest and ready counsel have brought strong aid to the execution of the plans adopted. It remains only to be said that the manuscript of the Handbook was submitted to the Executive Committee of the French Protestant Federation and to leading men in all American denominations concerned with work in France. Such errors as they have pointed out were rectified, and their observations taken into careful consideration. The Handbook now goes forth approved by Protestant leaders in France and in our own country.

Louise Seymour Houghton.

# INTRODUCTION

The people of America have during the past four years become deeply interested in the people of France and Belgium. While this has been a profound and unlimited human interest, it is natural and obvious that, in association with it, the evangelical churches of America should have a special concern for their suffering brethren of the evangelical churches in these nations.

Heretofore there has been little contact between these churches, other than the occasional expression of sentiments of esteem and good will. The experiences of the war have now translated our sympathy into terms of service.

This volume has been prepared to meet the demand of the pastors and members of our churches for ready information concerning the history and especially the present conditions, of our sister churches in France and Belgium.

Mrs. Louise Seymour Houghton has for decades been rendering distinguished service of this kind through voice and pen. No one in America knows better the history of the Huguenot and other Protestant churches in France than she and no one has entered more deeply into their genius and spirit. This service, which is a labor of love on her part, will merit and should receive the gratitude of the Christian churches of America and of France and Belgium.

The book has been designed distinctively in the light of its practical value and service rather than simply from the viewpoint of the historian. It is to be earnestly hoped that our pastors and the members of our churches will find it a source of inspiration and guidance, to the end that we may participate in the great evangelical movements in these two nations which have, during these recent years, made for themselves so large a place in the heart of the world.

CHARLES S. MACFARLAND.

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# PART I

# HISTORICAL

# I

## THE BIRTH OF PROTESTANTISM IN FRANCE

The history of the Huguenot[1] Church of France, *Mater dolorosa* of Reformed churches, is one that above all other histories should stir the hearts of Christians. Not only because of the sufferings of that martyr Church whose name for long years was "the Church under the Cross," but because, first of all organizations in Christendom, the Huguenot Church stood for *liberty through democracy,* the very watchword of today.

The principle of liberty throbs in the blood of France. As the great Huguenot jurist Hotman taught in the days of Charles IX, the very name of Frenchmen, *Français, Franci,* "free from tribute," shows what they were from the beginning. The "eldest daughter of the Church" was never so submissive to Rome as other nations. There was no country where so called "heresies"—"protests of the popular conscience against the errors and sins of the dominating Church," were so numerous, constant, and on the whole successful as in France during the Middle Ages; none, too, whose rulers more stoutly resisted the

[1] "Huguenot" is an old French word, common in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Its application to the French Reformers is thus explained by Estienne: "The Protestants of Tours used to assemble by night near the Gate of King Hugo, whom the people regarded as a ghost. Up to this time they had been called 'Lutherans,' but a monk of Tours said they should be called Huguenots, because like Hugo, they went out at night. The name became generally used from the year 1560."



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temporal power of Rome. The Emperor of Germany might go to Canossa and stand for three days barefoot in the snow awaiting the Pope's pleasure; not so a King of France. When Popes undertook to curb French liberties it appealed to Councils, especially to that of Basle in 1431, called expressly "to reform the Church in its head and its members"; and after seventeen years of struggle France won in 1448 the Pragmatic Sanction which confirmed the age-long Gallican liberties—liberties which to the very beginning of the present century have been stoutly defended by the Catholic Church of France.

**Pre-Reformation Protestantism.** The need of reformation, vaguely felt over Europe, had been poignantly recognized in France. The revival of the religious spirit which appeared with the first intellectual revivals of the thirteenth century in reality dated back to the Albigenses and the Waldensian (Vaudois) revival of the twelfth century in Dauphiny, and to the translation of the Bible into the Romansch tongue made for that people. Thus was spread abroad through France the idea that the Bible is the supreme authority in matters of faith.

The wonderful influence of the French Bible in preparing the soul of France for the Reformation has hardly been adequately recognized. Sixty translations from the Vulgate, either in part or in full, were made in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and after the invention of printing, the Bible became the most popular book in France. The first French book printed in France was a translation (in part a paraphrase) of the Bible by two Augustinian monks in 1472.

In 1334 two scholars who had studied in Paris put forth a book showing that all civil and political power

emanates from the people; but though reforms both civil and religious were urgently called for during these centuries, there could be no Reformation until a *religious condition* had been created.

In no figure of those days was this religious condition more truly embodied than in the unlettered peasant girl of Domrémy, Joan of Arc, whom Protestants and Catholics alike now revere as a saint, who in the early years of the fifteenth century impersonated the very soul of France, and was a true precursor of the Reformation.

All Europe had been longing for a religious revival of the Church, but in Spain and Italy the Inquisition had killed that longing. It had wellnigh smothered it in France; but in the hearts of men like Briçonnet and Gerson, Lefèvre and Farel and Viret it smouldered, finally to burst out in a flame with that kindled in Germany by Luther and in Switzerland by Zwingli.

The French Reformation, then, came from the very heart of the better France. It was not a revolt against either civil or religious authority, but a loyal effort, in the name of both, to reform the existing church according to the type and spirit of the primitive church, whose First Council (at Jerusalem: Acts XV) was entirely democratic.

**Jacques Lefèvre.** The first book inclining toward evangelical views was issued in France in 1512, five years before Luther's protest at Wittenberg. It was a Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul, written by Jacques Lefèvre, a landed proprietor of Étaples in Picardy, who had sold his estates that he might study in Paris, then the refuge of Greek scholars who had fled from Constantinople after its capture by the Turks.

In 1509 (the year of Calvin's birth), Lefèvre had published his Quintuple Psalter, in which he had here and there corrected the Latin of the Vulgate by the Greek Septuagint. His "Commentary on the Epistles of Saint Paul," published in 1512, with the New Testament in French, brought out in Meaux in 1523, taught the sovereign authority of the Word of God, the very germ of the Reformation. Luther was teaching Lefèvre's Commentary in Wittenberg (as was Zwingli in Switzerland) before he broke with Rome.[1]

Among Lefèvre's pupils had been the future reformers, Farel and Briçonnet, later Bishop of Meaux. In 1521, when he was sixty years old, Lefèvre was called to Meaux by Bishop Briçonnet. His pupil, William Farel, who had passed through religious experiences similar to those of Luther, and whose writings had incurred the suspicion of the Sorbonne, was also there, having been saved by the King from direct condemnation. At the command of Francis I, Lefèvre undertook to translate the New Testament, calling to his aid the learned Vatable and the pious Gerard Roussel.

The golden age of the French Reformation was the period between 1512 and 1523. Claude, wife of Francis I, and her sister, the Duchess of Ferrara, with the King's sister, Marguerite of Valois, had been reared on the teachings of Wyclif's Bible, brought to the court by their English governess, and the purity which had reigned in the Court under the Queen and her wise mother, the saintly Anne of Brittany, had prepared the way for the acceptance of the Reformation by Francis I and his court.

[1] Luther's copy of this work has lately been found. He used it in lecturing up to about 1516.

When by the preaching of Lefèvre, Farel and Briçonnet and their followers it was adopted by nobles and common people, "swiftly," we are told, "there swept over the manufacturing towns a reign of saintly purity." Many clergy and even bishops, especially of Bordeaux and other parts of Southern France, joined the reform movement; many royal and municipal functionaries, many intellectuals, regents of scholastic institutions, students, physicians, apothecaries, lawyers and men of all trades and occupations adopted the new ideas. There was no break with the Church, the entire movement was one of reform within the Church.[1]

Francis I, becoming aware that he had made a political blunder, withdrew from the movement and made public expiation at the door of Notre Dame. His Chancellor Duprat, the theologians of the Sorbonne, Pope Clement VII, and the Councils of Paris and of Tournon, urged him in the path of persecution, and in 1523 the first martyr of the Reformation, Jean Vallière, an Augustinian monk, who like other Augustinians, of whom was Martin Luther, had a mind open to new truth, was burned at the stake in Paris.

The Sorbonne had condemned Lefèvre's Commentary and now forbade him to translate the Bible, but he sought refuge at the court of the King's sister, Marguerite, Queen of Navarre, becoming one of her *valets de chambre,* with other men of genius who had espoused

[1] In the years between 1519 and 1522 the writings of Luther were extensively circulated in France. His works, especially his tract, "On the Babylonish Captivity of the Church," pointed the way toward separation from the Church of Rome as a necessary step for reformation. His writings were condemned by the Sorbonne in 1521, and those in France who were suspected of sharing his views were branded with the name "Lutheran."

the new doctrines. The whole Bible from the original tongues appeared in 1530, several years before Luther's German Bible. The eagerness with which it was received by the French people is seen in the fact that thirty-six editions of various parts of it appeared before 1541, twenty-three being of the New Testament. Even members of the nobility and men of learning became colporteurs to scatter the Word of God.

Other martyrdoms followed. Jacques Ponant, Jean Leclerc and Louis de Berquin, "the honor of the Court of Francis I," were burned with others, "mostly noblemen," and Briçonnet, tried by the Sorbonne, withdrew from the movement. Paris had already become "accustomed to martyrdom," when in 1535 an edict ordered the extermination of all heretics. Then emigration began. Clement Marot, the poet who gave to the Reformed Church that version of the Psalms which has been its song through all its history, took refuge with the French Princess Renée, Duchess of Ferrara. Farel and many other leaders fled to Strassburg, which until better times became the refuge of victims of persecution. The immediate fruit of this emigration was the founding in Strassburg of the first French Reformed Church, with 1,500 members, all refugees.

**Jean Calvin.** Among these was Jean Calvin, already, in spite of his extreme youth, a notable figure. Born at Noyon in 1509, he was studying law when his relative, the learned Olivétan, a Reformer, gave him a Bible which profoundly affected his views. He preached to large audiences and had more than once been in danger of death, before he sought refuge in Strassburg. Thence he went to Basle, where at the age of twenty-four he

published in 1536 the "Institutes of the Christian Religion," prefaced by a letter to Francis I. It was in this year that Lefèvre died at Nérac, being past eighty years of age.

Leaving Basle, Calvin settled that same year in Geneva, where he was made pastor and professor and became writer, catechist, magistrate and legal adviser of all the Reformed Church. Thousands fled from France to Geneva and found an asylum prepared for them by Calvin, but it was those who remained behind who were his peculiar care. His writings to them, tracts, sermons, answers to the questions of the Sorbonne, personal letters, could be counted by thousands, and in the midst of persecution he organized, from Geneva, the first Reformed Church in France, that of Paris in 1540, in which, says a Catholic writer, "Christianity returned to its primitive innocence." A prodigious worker, but always out of health, Calvin died in 1564 at the age of fifty-five, after organizing a religio-civil system which has become the norm of democratic governments.

**Spread of the Reformation.** With the accession of Henry II in 1547, the Reformation overspread France, especially the Southern provinces. "Then," writes "the Huguenot potter" Palissy, "might be seen on Sundays bands of work people walking cheerfully in the meadows, groves and fields, singing spiritual songs together or reading to one another from the sacred volume, boys with their teachers full of the steadfast purpose to lead a noble life."

Men and women of high standing, attracted by the religious and moral character of Calvinism, and led by the Chatillons (one of them Gaspard de Coligny) and

Jeanne d'Albrêt. Queen of Navarre, joined the movement. In the court the Psalms of Clement Marot became fashionable. As the courtiers walked abroad on summer evenings they would make the air resound with them, sung to the four part harmonies of Goudimel.

The Montbéliard country in Eastern France was strongly impressed by the Reformation. In 1559 the Ecclesiastical Warrant paid particular attention to education, laying down principles still valid and in operation. "The object of education is to make worthy men who shall be useful to the Church and to the Christian Republic." For the time Montbéliard became the intellectual center of France; printing was greatly developed there; in the latter part of the century it came to be one of the chief industrial regions of France.

But Henri II became a persecutor, and in 1549 the *chambre ardente* was formed for the trial of heresy. Under persecution the churches became only the more numerous, women suffering no less than men.

In 1559, the year of Henri's death, Calvin's influence becoming ever more marked, the Consistory of Paris convoked the first General Synod of Reformed Churches, with fifteen churches represented by pastors and elders.

This handful of obscure men, of whom only the names are known, drew up and accepted with one accord the Confession of Faith which for nearly three centuries was that of the Reformed churches, and a discipline modeled on that of Calvin at Geneva, which has become the model for all churches of the Presbyterian order. At the Conference of Poissy in 1561 Beza addressed congregations in Paris which were variously estimated at from 8,000 to 40,000. In 1562 Coligny gave to the Queen Regent a

list of 2,150 Reformed churches, each having its own minister, and the learned Chancellor Michel L'Hôpital estimated that the number of Huguenots was as one to three of the population. It included some of the noblest Frenchmen of the time, Coligny, Duplessis-Mornay, Ambroise Paré, father of modern surgery, Olivier de Serres, whose enlightened agricultural methods created the rural wealth of France, Jean Cousin, Hotman, and many others. The Bourbons, Montmorencỳs and Chatillons, all of royal lineage, had joined the movement before the Guises came into power with Francis II in 1559.

**Wars of Religion.** The Guises, now upheld, now opposed by the Regent Catherine de Medici, were bitter enemies alike to reformation and toleration, and though Catherine had granted to the Protestants "the precarious freedom of the Edict of January" (1561), the Guises, by the counter stroke of the massacre at Vassy in 1562 gave the signal for civil war. Under the leadership of Coligny the first of the Seven Wars of Religion broke out. Condé, with other Huguenot leaders, declaring that "they could no longer hope except in God and His arms," signed a manifesto affirming loyalty to the King (then the child Charles IX) and stating that it was "as loyal subjects that they were forced to take up arms." It was a war for liberty of conscience, and for more than thirty years the history of the Huguenots (first so called in 1560) was one with the history of France. A confused history it was, of secret machinations, broken treaties, assassinations, heroic conflicts and defeats hardly less glorious than victories, with brief intervals of peace.[1]

[1] A typical hero of these wars was the long forgotten Agrippa d'Aubigné. At the age of ten years condemned to the stake,

In this struggle no name stands forth more prominently than that of Jeanne d'Albrêt, Queen of Navarre. Like her mother Marguerite of Valois, learned, pious, a poet and a scholar, staunch friend of the Reformation and her Court the asylum of persecuted Protestants, she was a statesman where her mother was wise only by a woman's loving intuition. When the religious wars broke out she raised an army and came to the aid of the Protestants, baffling the intrigues of the Guises and the Queen Regent. When at the death of Condé the Protestant cause seemed desperate she came to Coligny in his camp, bringing in either hand a youth of fifteen, her nephew, son of the slaughtered Condé, and her own fatherless son, Henri, the hope of Navarre and the future King of France. These boys, brought up by her in all hardihood and manly practices and inspired with high and noble principles, gave new life to the army and new hope to the cause. To Jeanne d'Albrêt, more than to any other, was due the peace of St. Germain by which in 1570 the right of public worship was conceded to the Protestants, their confiscated property restored, and all criminal sentences against them repealed. It was in the interval of peace thus gained that the massacre of St. Bartholomew, August 24, 1572, laid the noble Coligny low, and reduced the number of Protestants by thousands.

Gaspard de Coligny, whom Americans should hold in

"the horror of the mass eclipsed that of the fire," and he danced a fandango while waiting for the executioner to come with his torch. Rescued from this peril and committed to a guardian, at the age of thirteen he ran away in his nightgown to join the army of the reformers, and from that time was the indomitable champion of reform, the faithful, incorruptible, but most inconvenient friend of Henry of Navarre, to whose cause he gave thirty years of valiant service.

memory as having founded the first colony in the New World (in Brazil), as well as the first in what is now the United States, was the type of the Huguenot statesman and general. Loyal to his earthly king and passionately patriotic, his prudence, caution and wonderful endurance, his indomitable courage and hopefulness, were equaled by his broad tolerance. His daughter, the beautiful Louise de Teligny, who escaped by a miracle from the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and alone and on foot made her way to her father's castle to warn its inmates to flee, later did noble service to the Protestant cause as the wife of William the Silent, Prince of Orange.

It was after the hideous treachery of St. Bartholomew's night that the Huguenots formed a political party. Definitely constituted at La Rochelle in 1588, it held together through all the subsequent Wars of Religion until the final peace of 1629, under Louis XIII. While obedient to the laws of the realm, among themselves the Huguenots formed "a kind of republic with its own laws, dealing with civil government, justice, war, commerce and finance. They had a president, called Protector of the Churches, an office held by Condé and later by the King of Navarre until the day when he became Henri IV."

On his death bed Henri III had made his cousin, Henri of Navarre, his successor, but it was not without a struggle that the latter triumphed over the League which sought to prevent his succession and entered Paris in 1594. In 1598 he signed the Edict of Nantes, "by which after forty years of strife the Reformers through their constancy obtained peace."

## II

# FROM THE PUBLICATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES TO ITS REVOCATION

### 1598-1685

By the Edict of Nantes all former treaties between Catholics and Protestants were confirmed, verdicts for past offences were annulled, prisoners and galley slaves were set free, and Huguenots restored to full rights of citizenship. Yet in the matter of public worship they were still subordinate, for while Catholic worship was permitted in all Protestant towns, Protestant worship was forbidden in Paris, and limited to other towns where it had once been publicly established.[1]

This Edict was recorded by all provincial Parliaments as "perpetual and irrevocable," and was so sworn to by all the courts, governors, magistrates and principal citizens of the realm. After the death of Henri IV, the

[1] The Edict has been celebrated as one of the first victories of toleration and liberty. But in fact it entailed disastrous consequences for the future development of Protestantism in France. The Protestant creed, in spite of persecutions, wars and the massacre of St. Bartholomew, was so well rooted in France that in 1598 there were more than 300 towns or villages and some 2,000 parishes where mass had not been celebrated for many years. The Edict of Nantes re-established mass everywhere, and on the other hand, assigned limits to the number of towns, parishes or castles, where the Reformed worship had a right to be observed.

Regent, Marie de Medici, declared in the King's name that the observance of the Edict had "established secure tranquillity among his subjects: Wherefore . . . although this Edict is perpetual and irrevocable, and . . . need not be confirmed, still . . . be it known, said and ordered that the aforesaid Edict . . . shall be maintained and held inviolable."

Notwithstanding the brave victories of Henri of Navarre and his followers, perhaps because of their fearful cost, he had been able to enter Paris as King only at the price of professed allegiance to Catholicism. "Paris is after all worth a mass, in spite of the advice and prayers of my faithful Huguenots," he said, as he passed through the gates on May 22, 1594, and though his heart was with his Huguenots, and within four years he signed the Edict in their behalf, his recantation chilled the Protestantism of many of his noble adherents, who followed him into the Catholic Church. Still the cause of Reform prospered; during this reign and until 1650 there were 806 Protestant churches, many of them with thousands of members and several pastors and "annexes," divided into 16 provinces and 62 conferences, each holding its local and provincial synods and meeting in General Assembly. Two delegates to the latter were chosen to reside near the King between sessions.

The assassination of Henri IV in 1610 gave the signal for a reaction. The years that followed were years of offences against the spirit of the Edict followed by Protestant uprisings and short periods of concession. In 1619 when the double marriage of the Royal House with the House of Austria aroused discontent throughout the realm, Condé issued a call to revolt, and Protestants and

Catholics once more met on the field in the brief Sixth War of Religion, soon closed by the treaty of Loudun. The government again attempted to break down the Protestant organization and the kingdom once more became aroused. On May 10, 1621, the Huguenots signed a "Declaration of Independence," which gave the signal for the Seventh War of Religion, though all France indignantly protested against the King taking up arms. La Rochelle, the chief city of Protestantism, fell after a siege rendered forever famous by the heroism of its defenders and its mayor. Since 1568 it had been an independent and sovereign city, but it was now restored to the King by the treaty of Alais, which in 1629 marked the end of the civil wars. An Edict of Grace was proclaimed, in which Richelieu granted the Huguenots free exercise of their religion and maintained the organization of the Reformed Church; but he demolished the strong places of the Huguenots and interdicted their political assemblies, and they ceased to be a body in the State.

A new era was now inaugurated for the French Reformation. Having become impoverished and having lost many leaders among the nobility, the Huguenots gave themselves to agriculture, commerce and industry, and became increasingly prosperous all over the realm. They entered all liberal careers, became physicians and advocates, and in the next reign contributed largely to that literature which was the glory of the Age of Louis XIV. But Louis XIII began a screwing process, gradually withdrawing their liberties and destroying their "temples." The Huguenots made only a moral resistance, and in 1643 the King again granted to them "the free and unrestricted exercise of their religion," confirming the Edict

of Nantes. In that year the King died and the infant Louis XIV came to the throne, but the Regent Anne of Austria confirmed the Edict in his name, the Synods asserting absolute loyalty to the young King. In 1652 Louis XIV confirmed it, Mazarin saying, "the rather that the said subjects have given him certain proofs of their affection and fidelity." But when he came of age (at fourteen), Louis XIV began a judicial war which lasted more than twenty years, being encouraged by the clergy, the Bishop of Comminges protesting to the King against "this unhappy liberty of conscience that destroys the liberties of the children of God." All churches built since the Edict were declared "informal" and demolished, and "legal" churches were forced to close their annexes, children were taken from their parents and shut up in convents to be baptized and educated, while those left with their parents might be educated only in the rudiments. Many forced baptisms of adults occurred. More than four hundred proclamations were issued attacking the Huguenots in their domestic and civil functions, their property rights and liberty of conscience. Marriage ceremonies performed by pastors were declared invalid and children's property confiscated. Many abjured solely in order to be able to contract legal marriage. The long lists of "new converts" from the "R. P. R." (*réligion prétendue Réformée,* "so-called Reformed Religion," as it is called in all public documents) form the most pathetic documents of Huguenot history.

Finding all these measures futile to work the destruction of the Reform, in 1683 Louis XIV instituted the dragonnades, that "booted mission" which brought everlasting infamy upon his name. The hellish atrocities

practiced upon the persons of women and children by the cruel dragoons quartered upon Huguenots and given free license, hardly bear repetition.

Then began that "honorable peregrination" during which the persecuted Huguenots found a home in other lands and France lost 500,000 of her best citizens. Forbidden by law to leave the country, and subjected to the severest penalties if detected in the attempt to emigrate, the hardships which they underwent were indescribable.[1]

If detected in attempted flight the penalties were severe. Both men and women were shipped to the West Indies to be sold as slaves. Men were sent to the galleys, women, after ferocious indignities, to lifelong imprisonment in the Tower of Constance in the Mediterranean marshes. Even bishops of the Catholic Church were moved to pity by these heroically endured sufferings. One writes, "What a disadvantage to the provinces, depopulated as they are by a long and cruel war, is the evasion of so many subjects *whose much tried fidelity we must own.*" [2]

[1] Women of rank, even to seventy years of age, who had never before set foot on the ground, traveled eighty or one hundred leagues on foot among rocks and forests, through marsh and snow, wading breast high through icy torrents, performing prodigies of courage. Women disguised themselves as men, took the dress of lacqueys and followed on foot through mud and mire a man of the family who personated the master. Girls of fifteen or sixteen trundled wheelbarrows, they carried baskets of manure, they disfigured their faces, they feigned to be ill, mute or mad. Two sisters were shipped to England in empty casks supposed to be filled with apples, being without food or drink for several days. So common indeed was this method of evasion that orders were given to fumigate the holds of all vessels with deadly gas. The tortures of mind endured by the fathers of families in these evasions are well described in the well-known narrative of Jacques Fontaine, ancestor of the Maury family of this country.

[2] The Huguenots were men of integrity, energy, economy and benevolence. "Honest as a Huguenot" was a common saying.

Archbishop Le Tellier of Rheims endeavored to persuade the government that a degree of tolerance and the slow influence of time were the only means to resolve the Protestant question. Yet Le Tellier rejoiced when on October 15, 1685, the Edict of Nantes was revoked on the ground that there were no more Protestants in France, and a Te Deum was sung in Rome to celebrate the event. By this Act all Huguenot houses of worship were razed, their four richly endowed academies destroyed, their schools closed, their poor funds confiscated and seven hundred pastors were given two weeks to abjure or leave the country.

A beautiful illustration of their honesty is told in connection with the Great Elector of Brandenburg. The Elector one day surprised his wife in the act of giving the crown jewels to a stranger. In astonishment, he asked who the man was. She replied: "I do not know his name, but I know that he is a Huguenot." That was enough; a Huguenot's word was as good as his bond. In Friederichsdorf, near Frankfort, there has not been in the history of the Huguenot Church for 200 years one illegitimate birth. It was the custom of the Huguenots to give largely to benevolence. When they died, they always left something to their church. The result was that in Germany there are a number of Huguenot churches, whose congregations having become German have disbanded, but very considerable funds left by bequest to the church still remain.

## III

# FROM THE REVOCATION TO THE RESTORATION OF PROTESTANTISM IN FRANCE

### 1685–1787

The Revocation was inevitable in a kingdom whose ruler and chief ministers, Louis XIV, Colbert and Louvois, found Protestantism a *"non-sens,"* incompatible with the dignity of a realm which claimed to be the Kingdom of God and the domain of a single person, his representative, the Sun-King.

For France the act was most disastrous: she lost 100 millions in money, 12,000 soldiers, 9,000 sailors, and 600 officers, among them some of her bravest; lost many of her flourishing manufactures, while certain trades were ruined. Some parts of the Kingdom were in a measure depopulated. The Protestants fled to Switzerland, Germany, Holland, England, the American Colonies, even to the Cape of Good Hope. From that day the fortunes of Louis the Great, who aspired to be the conqueror of Europe, declined. The Edict of Revocation deprived him of his Protestant allies, whom he greatly needed to offset the growing power of Austria and Spain. All the strength and wealth that he had lost went to build up rival nations, Protestant England, the Netherlands and Germany.[1]

[1] That activity of mind in theology and philosophy which was a glory of the age was checked in France only to find its oppor-

The Edict of Revocation banished pastors and put down preaching. Lay persons, however, were permitted to remain and, indeed, even prohibited from emigrating, as this had already greatly weakened the nation. They might carry on their business unmolested, but they might not hold public worship. A great number of Protestants understood this to mean that abjuration was not necessary so long as they held no public worship, and were in no haste to abjure. Persecutions were therefore again resumed—power being given to ecclesiastics to intervene at their own judgment.

Thus the Edict of Revocation established in France neither peace nor religious unity. The Huguenots had abjured only with the lips, and though half a million of them had fled, another half million remained to form within the Church to which they had nominally adhered a refractory group, the "Newly Converted," upon whom neither the ceremonies of the Church nor the priests had any hold. Within two years after the Edict of Revocation a large number of "New Converts" signed a paper to the effect that they had never approved of the Catholic Church which they had been constrained to enter, that the doctrine of the "so-called Reformed Religion" would always be theirs, and that, detesting their former weakness, they were resolved to glorify God in the future, while protesting before God their fidelity to the King, "our only and legitimate earthly sovereign." At terrible risk a few pastors remained or secretly returned. Large rewards had been offered to pastors who would abjure, and many of those who lived too far from the frontier

tunity in foreign lands. This was a loss to the nation which was not realized at the time.

to reach it in fifteen days, or who had aged parents or children over seven years of age whom they might not take with them, did abjure, to the number, it is said, of 120, many of them under torture. Some of these at last escaped, and were reinstated in other countries. Many reached safety in utter destitution.[1]

In Frankfort there is a list of 97,816 poor fugitives who were helped in the years between 1686 and 1705, and in 1685, the very year of the Revocation, 75,000 exiles were inscribed on the lists of the Walloon Churches of Holland.

The exiled pastors wrote letters to their flocks, and even came back disguised as merchants, as masons, as journeymen of various trades, "to seduce the newly converted and prevent their being taught in the true faith," wrote one ecclesiastic. At a time when it was a capital offence to sing a psalm, read a sermon or a page of the Bible even at home and alone, and when strict requisition was made for Protestant books, the "Newly Converted" took great risks to procure such books.[2] "New Converts" came to be looked upon with suspicion, were overwhelmed with taxes, forbidden to travel without a special license, with other serious disabilities.

Though now without pastors or "temples," the faithful held clandestine meetings in many parts of the realm, in Normandy, Champagne, Saintonge, the Ile-de-France, Orleans, and especially in the Cevennes mountains in

[1] Pastor Jacolet of Vassy wrote to his brother-in-law, a refugee in London, "I have not even a coat: I am at Heidelberg like Adam in the Garden of Eden, only without his innocence."

[2] A bill of lading was recently found in Amsterdam of 589 hogsheads containing Bibles, sermons and controversial books shipped to a firm of "New Converts" in Paris.

Tower of Constance where Huguenot Women were imprisoned.

Languedoc. They met in manor houses, in barns, in open fields, and in the wild mountain gorges and great caves of the Cevennes. They were tracked like smugglers, shot like bandits, sent to prison or to the galleys, but they never flinched. The dragonnades were resumed in 1697, and the *chasse aux Huguenots* (hunting of Huguenots) through the trackless forests of the Cevennes became a favorite pastime with the friends of the cruel Lamoignon de Bâville, Intendant of Languedoc. When a gathering was discovered the most cruel measures were taken. This "desert period" is one of the most tragic in the history of Protestantism, as it is one of the most heroic. Many Huguenots who had escaped to Switzerland came back and joined their brethren of "the Church under the Cross."

There being no longer any pastors, "preachers" began to take their places, generally men of small education but of a fiery zeal which inflamed all their hearers. "Ardor and necessity forced them not to make a point of ordination; persons of all degrees and both sexes took up these functions, scholars, tradesmen, carpenters, wool carders, peasants, even children who had memory enough to learn little sermons by heart and courage enough to recite them." Women exhorters appeared. Anne Montjoye, a peasant, could not read but had a great memory: urged by zeal she learned to read, and held meetings, exhorted and prayed. She was arrested, and refusing to change her religion, was condemned to death. So many in fact were arrested that the Intendant Bâville sought instructions from his King, who replied, "His Majesty thinks that it does not promote his purpose to dispense entirely with the declaration which condemns to death all attend-

ants at assemblies. Put two of the most guilty to death, and send all the other men to the galleys. If no one knows who are the most guilty let lots be drawn for them."

Secret committees of emigrants in Holland, Switzerland and England sought for "candidates for martyrdom" to send them back to France. Enthusiasm increased; children uttered prophecies, heavenly voices were heard chanting in the air those Psalms which for long years the Huguenots had been forbidden to sing, and which fell like dew upon their thirsty souls. Then the sound of drums was heard, the challenge of the trumpet, the clicking of arms, the summons to a holy war. The desperate outbreak of the Camisards was the natural product of such ecstasies, but it was no mere hysterical uprising. The cruelties of the Intendant and his assistants left hardly an alternative to men of honor.

Mothers assembling their children and the aged men would go by night for leagues into "the desert," there to offer up prayers for the success of the "Children of God." On Palm Sunday of 1703 nearly three hundred were assembled in an old mill when they were surprised by troopers and put to fire and sword.

Acts like this brought on the Camisard War. The outbreak was headed by Jean Cavalier, a youth of twenty around whom gathered a large troop, with leaders such as Roland, ardent with despair and strong for any endurance. A party of these Camisards broke into the house of Abbé du Chayla, notorious as a torturer, and slaughtered him in the night. Knowing the region as the soldiers of the King did not, its forests, glens, ravines,

caves, its almost impregnable heights, they were able for years to carry on the unequal contest.[1]

There were those in exile who encouraged them. The learned Pastor Jurieu, early herald of the rights of man, from his retreat in Holland sent out broadsides of protests against the encroachments on rights and liberties—protests which reached the eyes of the King. The eminent lawyer, Claude Brousson, also in exile, went himself to the spiritual help of the men of the Desert in 1692 and took orders as a pastor, affirming that "this is neither by the order nor the counsel of any foreign power, directly nor indirectly . . . but solely by the movement of the Spirit of God upon his conscience." For the returning exiles were most unjustly charged with being emissaries of the Protestant powers, all of whom had become enemies of the "Sun King." With his colleague Vivens, also a lawyer, Claude Brousson wrought mightily.

In the end the Camisard uprising was put down and nearly all its leaders executed.[2]

[1] A cave is shown in the Cevennes mountains, a frequent place of refuge, which is accessible only by a rope suspended along the face of a precipice.

[2] "Roland, with the figure of an archangel and the eyes of a warrior, Esprit Séguier, poinard in hand, implacable, La Quote, whose 'hardened heart,' said the priest Louvreland who stood by, 'could not be broken by the torture that broke his bones,' Castenet, heavy and deformed, Ravenel, lean and squint, Abraham Mazel, imperturbable, Vivens, 'the roaring lion,' noblest soul that his Aigoual country has ever seen, devoured by the imperious ardors of his soul and killed with arms in his hand, Claude Brousson, the mystic dove, patient and serene, martyrs of Jesus, saints of God, all of these more beautiful—going to the gibbet as to a festival, their scarlet martyr gowns fluttering in the wind —than ever they had been before."

For years a system of persecution, more complete than any that had preceded it, had followed Protestants from birth until death and even burial. There was no way of escape: every parish had its priest and missionaries, the smallest town its garrison, spies were everywhere. The memoirs that have come down from that time are tragic reading. Only in Languedoc had there been any resistance: these rude mountaineers, Bible in hand, dared resist the triple menace of the priest, the Intendant and the executioner.

. . . . . .

The Camisard war was long over; the leaders had been put to a dreadful death and none dared lift a voice or attend a Desert meeting. The realm was profoundly calm. Then, on March 8, 1715, Louis XIV issued a Royal Declaration announcing "We have abolished the exercise of the said religion," and condemning to torture all who should relapse, whether or no they had abjured. His declaration was so far true that there was in all France not a single settled pastor, not a single "temple," not a single school. The Church was indeed under the Cross.

**Antoine Court.** Five months later, on August 21, only eleven days before the death of the "Grand Monarch," the youthful Antoine Court summoned the Protestants of France to the First Desert Synod. The Desert period began, with ever new persecutions, new heroisms, and with the Restoration of Protestantism in France as its reward. Since 1659, there had been no synod; persecution had made it impossible; but with this call the tradition of synods was revived. Seven other synods were held in the Desert—the last in 1763, and after that regularly in other parts of France until 1787. Well

might the mountain boy of the Cevennes be honored as the Restorer of Protestantism in France!

Antoine Court, born in 1696 of parents of small fortune but great zeal, had before his birth been dedicated to the service of God. His mother devoted herself to the education of her fatherless children, taught them the Bible, explained to them the meaning of the Camisard insurrection then going on, prayed with them in low whispers for fear of spies, told them of the sufferings of the martyrs. All books had been requisitioned and burned, but she had managed to save her Bible. Antoine used to see her stealing out at night, and when he was fourteen years old he followed her—to a desert meeting where a woman led. Antoine was made a reader in the meetings and two years later he suddenly rose up in a meeting and preached. It was 1713; he was seventeen years old.

After preaching through the mountains he overcame his mother's fears and passed into Dauphiny, then went to Marseilles and to the royal galleys, where he found one hundred and fifty professed Huguenots. Notwithstanding the peril he remained with them several months, organizing regular worship among them. During all these years he never slept but out of doors.

The people of the Cevennes saw in him their looked-for leader, and urged him to return. He resolved to restore Protestantism in France, being greatly influenced by Brousson's writings and by a plan he had proposed twenty years before. The time was ripe, and while Louis XIV lay dying he called together a Synod "to re-establish the proscribed religion."

Nine persons came, a few laymen, a few more preachers. They met in an old Roman quarry near Nimes, and there Antoine Court reconstructed the ecclesiastical body of the Church, elders, deacons and pastors. The laymen present were ordained as elders, and the preachers were charged to revive the Newly Converted. This first step taken, the groups organized themselves into consistories, *colloques* or presbyteries, and synods.

Henceforth Court's life was one of incessant toil, of imminent danger. He carried on an immense corre-

spondence, he founded a theological school in Lausanne, and watched over each student as over his own child.[1] He saved Protestantism. There were still persecutions and intolerance, but better times were evidently at hand. His task was really done, and on June 15, 1760, he died. His son, Court de Gebelin, continued his work.

His most noted colleague was Paul Rabaut.[2] Born in 1718 he "took the Desert" at the age of sixteen, became a pastor at twenty-one and carried on a heroic ministry of fifty years, his life being an incarnation of the Desert period. Many a time hunted, with a price upon his head, he lived to see the arms of persecution torn from the hands of declining royalty by the power of public opinion.

The last martyrs of intolerance were Jean Calas and Sirven (1762). But at this period in the world's history, such a spectacle of bigotry was too much. A persecuting and worldly church stirred the wrath of the philosophers of the eighteenth century. Voltaire vigorously protested against atrocities so alien to the spirit of the age, and in 1787 his protest was answered by the Edict of Toleration.

[1] Between 1730 and 1809 this school furnished about 450 ministers to France.

[2] In 1918 in the midst of war the Protestants of France celebrated his two hundredth anniversary.

## IV

# FROM THE EDICT OF TOLERATION TO THE THIRD REPUBLIC

### 1787–1872

The Edict of Toleration was put forth by Louis XVI in January, 1787, under the influence of Lafayette, who had seen the workings of religious freedom in America, and who took the initiative in bringing the subject before the Assembly of Notables. It restored to Protestants their civil rights; their marriages if performed before an officer of justice were legalized, they might exercise any trade or profession without being disturbed on account of their religion, the births of their children might be registered and certain rights of sepulture were granted to them; but the Roman Catholic religion was recognized as alone having any right to public worship.

Restricted as were the privileges it granted, the Edict was met with a storm of protest. The Pope intervened and refused his sanction. But the Revolution was imminent: protest was impotent. The hour was at hand when public opinion would become amazed and indignant at the anomalous situation of thousands upon thousands of Frenchmen whose sole crime was not being Catholics.

The very existence of Christianity in France was in

a few years at stake. The great ideas of that period, liberty, humanity, are born of the Gospel and had been nourished, though in utter poverty and weakness, by the Children of the Reformation. The Church took a stand against these ideas, and its absolute power, which had lasted for generations, now found itself confronted with a change in the public spirit and conscience.

"All that was young of heart and ardent for rights and for liberty was by that fact impelled to repel Christianity. All the glow and buoyancy of energetic conviction, breaking upon the rock of the Church, turned from religion to philanthropy." Liberty of thought and of belief took first rank in the program of the new generation, which determined at all hazards to realize it. Voltaire, with his protest against the judicial murder of the Huguenot Calas, and his sincere loyalty to toleration, had advanced the Protestant cause more than half a century of obscure sufferings had done. Montesquieu (whose "Spirit of the Laws" was inspiring Jefferson and the other framers of the Constitution of the United States) was being universally read in France. "The principal strength of religion," he wrote, "is that it is believed; of human laws that they are feared," clarifying the minds of the early revolutionists as to the very nature of religion.

**The French Revolution.** Naturally then, when in August, 1789, the Constituent Assembly was discussing the Declaration of the Rights of Man, Rabaut St. Etienne, son of Paul Rabaut the great Pastor of the Desert, deputy from Nîmes, future president of the National Assembly, spoke for liberty of worship, not only for Protestants but for Jews. "It is at last time to throw down the barriers that separate man from man, French-

man from Frenchman." "Not tolerance," he asked for, "but liberty. The ideas of tolerance, clemency, pardon are supremely unjust, for difference in religion is not a crime." Mirabeau demanded not only tolerance but entire liberty in religion as a sacred right of man, and the Duke de la Rochefoucauld presented an Order of the Day in which it was voted that "the Assembly had no power over consciences," and solemnly condemned the Edict of Revocation. The Huguenots had not suffered in vain. When the Protestants asked for restoration to religious rights, as implicated in civil rights, it was verbally granted, and on June 7, 1789, the first public Reformed worship ever held in Paris was celebrated by Pastor Marron, formerly chaplain to the embassy at Holland, who had faithfully defended Protestant rights in the Assembly. Protestant worship was publicly instituted in 1790 with the support of Bailly, Mayor of Paris, in the Church St. Louis du Louvre, then granted to Protestants as a place of worship.[1] That same year 1790, a decree of the Convention admitted to citizenship all descendants of refugees who might return, on condition of taking a civil oath. This privilege is still claimed by descendants of Huguenots returning from foreign lands.

Rabaut St. Etienne was beheaded in 1793, and with him the young minister, La Source, who had been a Girondin leader. The Protestant temples were closed,[2]

[1] It was the Revolution which first put into legislative form the idea of the public utility of religion.

[2] At this time, when the Convention had turned all places of worship into clubs, Oberlin, the precursor of the Christian Social movement in France, who for half a generation had been doing a wonderful work in the Ban-de-la-Roche, Alsace, where

their synodical organization annulled and the pastors dispersed, especially in Alsace. Marron was imprisoned, but was saved by the death of Robespierre.

The Terror was put down in February, 1795. The Church was divorced from the State and the Directory summoned religious associations to live under the common law. Both Catholics and Protestants devoted themselves to reorganization.[1] The Protestant Church of Paris was frankly associated with the political renovation of the country, and the Legislative Assembly attended a solemn thanksgiving in its temple, conducted by Pastor Marron.

**Napoleon's Policy.** Most of the Protestant churches were poor, but "liberty was in their tradition" and they made excellent progress. Protestantism was as fully alive as Catholicism when in 1801 Napoleon began to take an interest in religion to fetter it. The next year, by the Concordat, he officially called upon Protestants to restore their church.

The Concordat, being simply an agreement between the Emperor and the Pope, had strictly speaking to do only with the Catholic Church. But the Emperor, while admitting that religion was a matter of public utility ("If there had been no God," he observed, "it would have been necessary to create one"), was far too perspicacious to leave to the Church its former monopoly, and in the "Organic Articles" by which the functions of the Church

the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes had not been enforced, took the presidency of a club, where he explained all the new liberties, connecting them with the Gospel, the meetings being always closed with a psalm.

[1] From the anti-religious reaction of the Reign of Terror, the Catholics suffered more than the Protestants.

were brought under the common law he formally "recognized" the Reformed religion, and six years later the Lutheran. "The Jews are not in the same category as the Protestants and Catholics," he said. "They must be judged by political not by civil laws, because they are not citizens." Thus he revoked the great Edict of Tolertion of 1789 which had made all religions free. "I will have no dominant religion," he said, "nor any new ones; the Catholic, Reformed and Lutheran are quite enough." In later years, however, the Jewish became a "recognized" religion, salaried by the State. After much popular opposition the Concordat was published and celebrated on Easter Sunday of 1802 with great pomp by a Te Deum at Notre Dame.

By the Organic Articles Protestant ministers were made state functionaries, next in place to Cardinals. The salaries of all ministers of religion were paid by the State; national and even provincial synods were forbidden. Church sessions were disallowed, though consistorial groups of 6,000 Protestants, within a definite area, were permitted. The consistories were to elect pastors subject to the Emperor's confirmation.

These measures, intended to protect the State from possible machinations of the Catholic hierarchy, were fatal to any sense of union among Protestants, thinly scattered over so wide a territory. Seventy-eight consistories, two of them in Paris, were subsidized, under the Concordat, with 171 pastoral places, but more than one hundred and thirty of them were vacant from lack of ministers. A few large churches, formerly Catholic, were allotted to the Protestants, but elsewhere the State built for them miserable halls, and in the South they still met

in the open air, as in the Desert days. No provision was made for the poor, and only one hospice (almshouse) was allowed them, that of La Rochelle.

The Lutherans in Alsace, whom the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes had not affected, while suffering many vexations had been able to keep their worship and schools, and were glad of the Concordat, which permitted the creation of a Lutheran Church in Paris.[1]

**The Restoration Period.** The fourteen years of the Consulate and the Empire were for French Protestantism a period of slow and silent germination. With the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1815 the Catholic Church became aggressive. During the four months of the "White Terror" atrocious cruelties were practiced against Protestants, in several cases resulting in death. Protestants were rebaptized by scores "as if they had been Jews or pagans," and compelled to go to mass. Meetings of consistories were suspended; emigration was seriously considered, but the trouble passed over. Protestant zeal had grown fervid under it.[2]

The Organic Articles confined the celebration of reli-

[1] "It would be impossible to overestimate the contribution of the Alsatians to the spiritual, moral and social life of France during the nineteenth century," says a recent writer, "especially after the war of 1870 which compelled some of the best families to leave their country."

[2] Under Louis Philippe the Protestants were influential, but in general, under Bourbons and Bonapartes, though Protestantism made marvellous spiritual progress, its civil rights were ignored. The disabilities and vexatious injustices, little and great, suffered by Protestants were almost innumerable, and in so enlightened a state quite incomprehensible. Even the Third Republic could not at once remove these disabilities. In Republican France in 1873 no Protestant might bury his dead in a consecrated cemetery except on sufferance, grudgingly granted perhaps after five, ten, twenty days of incessant siege of the tribunals. Until 1878 it was a state prison offence to make a

gious services to religious buildings (church, chapel or "temple"). Subsequent interpretations of the law made it a state prison offence to lend a room for a parlor or cottage meeting or a barn for a revival service *even if the meeting had been authorized.*[1]

**Formation of Protestant Societies.** It is a strong testimony to the vitality of their faith and a strong plea for the co-operation of the Christians of America that under such circumstances and in the face of repressive laws, the Protestants actually entered upon aggressive work. In 1818 a Bible Society was formed in Paris and in 1822 a Tract Society. That same year a second Tract Society was formed in Nimes. Forbidden by law to undertake the conversion of Frenchmen, they formed the Society of Missions in 1822 to carry the gospel to South Africa and later to the islands of the Pacific. In 1833 the Evangelical Society and a few years later the Central Society were formed, both Home Mission societies but both restricted to instructing anew or confirming in the

convert from any religion to another—a law always a dead letter in the case of Catholics, but often enforced when a Catholic went over to Protestantism.

[1] In the later years of the Second Empire a representative of the London Bible Society was tried in the French courts for offering a room in his house for religious meetings and for *swindling:* that is for taking voluntary contributions for missionary purposes. On the first count he was found guilty, fined and imprisoned for two months, and though not condemned on the second count he was severely reprimanded by the judge, who said that under the law such a proceeding was virtually swindling and would be so treated if it occurred again.

The most intolerant laws were repealed in 1878-82, but the situation remained a difficult one, for during all the seventy years between the act of Napoleon I which at once legalized and fettered it, until President Thiers in 1872 summoned a General Synod, Protestantism had no autonomy, no means of association or of spreading among its members that sense of unity which is essential to successful effort.

faith such as were Protestants by inheritance. That under cover of existing laws this work became as extensive as it did shows how thorough was the conviction that through the cruel repressions of generations many Protestants had fallen away from the faith.

In 1852, a new law created parochial suffrage, and gave the parishes a degree of autonomy, but no right of collective action. Still, under the impulse of this new freedom new organizations were founded that year—the Sunday School Society and the Society of the History of French Protestantism. In 1859 the churches observed the third Centennial of the first Synod, that of 1559, thus proving the attachment of Protestants to their ancient traditions.

All these works were the outgrowth of the Revival, always written with a capital letter, always looked at in retrospect as the bright period of Nineteenth Century Protestantism. Begun in the early years of the Restoration by the preaching of the Scotsman Robert Haldane, and nourished by that of another Scotsman, Erskine, it aroused the half-dormant spiritual consciousness of the oppressed Protestants. No sooner was the Bible Society founded than auxiliaries sprang up by the hundred. No church refused to make sacrifices for it or for the Missionary Society which soon followed. Each year marked new progress in the religious life. "Temples" were built in towns and villages, each dedication marking the decisive victory of religious liberty, restricted though it was.[1]

[1] Felix Neff, a young Swiss, did a wonderful work in the Higher Alps of France, preaching from house to house, Sundays

The Revolution of 1830, putting the Orleans family on the throne of a constitutional government, promised freedom to the Protestants. Men like Victor de Pressensé, Lutteroth and Waddington formed a committee and opened a small hall in Paris independent of the Reformed Church, out of which, after various changes, grew the well-known Chapelle Taitbout, famous in the early years of the Third Republic for the preaching of the son of Victor de Pressensé—the Senator-Pastor Edmond de Pressensé, and of the gifted Pastor Eugène Bersier. During the early days of the Orleans Government, Leon Pilatte organized popular meetings for the discussion of questions of the day for working men of the Temple and Faubourg St. Antoine quarters and also created for them a library.

Under the Protestant Minister of Worship and Education, Guizot, son of a Huguenot, the educational system founded by Napoleon was broadened to include the endowment of 35,000 primary schools. Normal schools were founded to provide teachers, and though Louis Napoleon within twenty years put primary instruction into the hands of the priests, the generation which received its first training between 1830 and 1850 proved the salvation of France when republican principles again became dominant. Such men as Adolphe Monod and his four brothers, Edmond de Pressensé, Louis Meyer, Count Agénor de Gasparin, Napoléon Roussel, Edouard Stapfer, were all children of the Revival. Protestant news-

and week days, traveling over a parish more than sixty miles long, transforming the country materially and spiritually, before he died, worn out, in 1829, at the age of thirty-one.

papers were founded and valuable works on Protestant History were written.

The crowning work of that early time was the Evangelical Alliance. In 1844 Protestants of different schools of thought met in Lyons "to demonstrate and affirm Christian Union in all the churches." The idea was seized upon by Germany, Switzerland, Scotland, England and America, and in 1846 the Alliance was definitely constituted in London.[1]

With the founding of the shortlived Second Republic in 1848 the Protestants of France for the first time in many years came together in a Synod for which the flexible French language found a title. It could not be "official," since by the law of 1802 only the Emperor could summon an official Synod, but it could be "officious" (*officieux*). A prominent question before the Synod was the separation of Church and State, a subject upon which minds had been brooding since 1830, and which the then recent work on that subject by the Swiss theologian, Alexandre Vinet, had set in a clear light. Though it was generally conceded that the time for throwing off state control with state support was not yet, a few bolder minds, Edmond de Pressensé, Frederic Monod, and several others dared to take the step. These churches formed themselves into a synod in 1849, on the basis of individual confession of faith and the separation of Church and State. Though in doctrine and discipline resembling each other, there were henceforth two orders of Protestant churches in France: the official,

[1] It appears to have been put forth earlier in the United States by Dr. Samuel S. Schmucker, a Lutheran minister.

Outdoor Meeting in Huguenot Desert, July, 1918.

maintained by the State, and the free, maintained by its members.

The *Coup d'Etat,* putting President Louis Napoleon upon the imperial throne, could not entirely suppress the enthusiasm which had lasted over from the Revival, nor check the activities of a largely socialized Protestantism.

Under Napoleon I religion had been bridled by the State, under the Restoration it had been wedded to the State, but after the brief liberties of the Second Republic it became, under Napoleon III, more than ever subject to the State.

From 1850 to 1870 the Catholic Church was in power, the Third Napoleon understanding its usefulness as a weapon of public utility and the Empress Eugénie being ardently devoted to it. Unhappily the Empress did not put herself under the tutelage of the best minds in the Church; else the conscientious reaction against religion expressed in the lives and writings of such men as Taine, Renan and Victor Hugo would not have occurred. When the free-thinking Taine willed to be buried by Protestant rite rather than with a civil funeral, it was partly because he did not wish to be ranked among enemies of religion, but chiefly because in this way he thought to register his conviction that in Protestantism resided France's chief hope of liberty.

# V

## FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE THIRD REPUBLIC UNTIL THE SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

### 1870–1906

In the Franco-Prussian War the Protestants showed the highest patriotism. Many notable officers were Protestants such as Admirals Jauréguiberry and Baudin and Col. Denfert-Rochereau. Kuss, Mayor of Strassburg—who died of grief after the annexation of Alsace—was a Protestant. Protestant pastors did loyal service to the wounded after the battles. Pastors Bersier, Lorriaux and Cook organized ambulances (field hospitals), being greatly assisted by the people of their churches.

The downfall of the Empire and the proclamation of the Third Republic on September 4, 1870, gave liberty of conscience, freedom of the press and freedom for the work of the gospel.

The bitter humiliation of defeat in 1870 and the dark disgrace of the Commune wrought a humbling and reviving influence upon the whole nation, especially upon the common people. Among Catholics it took the form of a solemn consecration of the nation to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and the faith and zeal of Protestants was wonderfully quickened. The Lutherans were busy bringing together the scattered fragments of their Church and

ministering to refugees from Alsace. The long-established works of the Reformed churches were carried on with renewed vigor and devotion and new works were undertaken. The question which in 1919 is deeply occupying the Protestant conscience: "After the war must we not make a new and special effort to present to France the Gospel of Jesus Christ?" in 1871 providentially received two answers by the founding of the Interior Mission (*Mission Intérieure*) and of the *Mission populaire Évangélique de France* (*MacAll*). The former was voted by acclamation at a Conference of the Protestants of the South held in Nîmes in October, 1871, 135 pastors and elders being present, its general object being to unite Christians for mutual encouragement and advancement of the Kingdom of God, its fundamental idea being an appeal to all the vital forces of the Church. In a few months a large number of groups were created in different parts of France, bound together by a Central Committee, with a monthly Bulletin as their organ.

This work was directed to the Protestants of France, who, thus united and organized in their several localities, were expected to act as a leaven, gradually leavening the whole lump. The great mass of the common people, at that time deemed bitterly hostile to all religion—tracing as they did the defeat of the nation to the only religion that they knew, that of the Church of Rome—were only indirectly taken into account.

But God had already raised up a working man to show that they might be directly reached. In August, 1871, an unknown man in a blouse standing on one of the "exterior" boulevards of Paris accosted an English clergy-

man, Robert W. McAll, and his wife, who on a brief vacation visit to that city were distributing French tracts. To Mr. McAll this unknown man said: "It is believed that we working people of Paris are opposed to all religion. *It is not so!* We cannot accept an *imposed* religion, but we are ready to hear, if any one will come and teach us a religion of freedom and reality."

In January, 1872, McAll and his wife opened the first hall of that remarkably beneficent work, the *Mission populaire Évangélique de France,* now overspreading the whole country and known as the McAll Mission. Not the least benefit conferred by the Mission upon France was its practical demonstration, in the first troubled years of the Third Republic, of the safety of preaching the gospel to the poor. "Go where you will," said the Prefect of the Seine to Mr. McAll when he went to him in 1873 for permission to open his fifth hall, "open as many halls as you choose, for I have learned that wherever you have a hall, there I need fewer policemen."

The Twenty-ninth National Synod was convened by President Thiers at the suggestion of Guizot, formerly Minister of Worship and Education. Guizot, who was then 84 years old, attended as a delegate and took part in the discussions. It met in January, 1872—the first National Synod since 1659, for the seven Desert Synods were not national. The debate was keen between conservatives and liberals, but the former triumphed, and by a vote of 61 to 41 the Confession of Faith of La Rochelle became the symbol of the Reformed Church of France.[1]

[1] Only pastors were to be held to the Confession of Faith; other church officers and members were required simply to declare

Two groups of churches, "evangelical" and "liberal," each headed by men of high ability and unquestioned piety, became recognized in the Reformed Church, held together by the State Establishment, which paid salaries and provided places for worship. As the result of this division, an official General Synod was never again convened by the Government.

The removal of the Theological Faculty from Strassburg to Paris in 1877, under the Waddington Ministry, brought from Alsace some of the most brilliant minds of French Protestantism to influence the education of young pastors—such men as Frederic Lichtenberger, expelled by the German Government for his boldly patriotic sermons, and Auguste Sabatier, descendant of Huguenots of the Desert, author of "St. Paul" and "Religions of Authority and the Religion of the Spirit," and professors like Bonet-Maury, Edmond Stapfer and Maurice Vernes.

In 1878 the Evangelicals organized what they called the "Officious" Synod, a working synod of their own forces, while remaining in the state ecclesiastical body. At this time they also reconstructed the provincial synods. The Liberals also organized on almost identical lines, under the name, "Liberal Delegation," both bodies reporting trienially to the General Synod. The two bodies were later bound together by the Fraternal Commission, consisting of members of both bodies.

During this time the Free Churches had been very active. Edmond de Pressensé had gone into public affairs and was a Life Senator. Jules Siegfried was busy-

"heartfelt attachment to the Reformed Church and the revealed truth as it is contained in the sacred books of the Old and New Testaments."

ing himself with the housing of working people, Léon Say with the effort for Sunday rest, Richard Waddington with the interests of factory women, Pastor Tomy Fallot with founding the League for Public Morality. The great economist Charles Gide was promoting co-operation, Pastor Gouth was founding the Protestant Association for the Study of Social Questions. Edouard Reuss, writing his many volumned Commentary on the Bible, and Dean Lichtenberger, with the "Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge," proved that "that ancient French glory, erudition" was still alive among Protestants; historical works were issued by Athanase Coquerel the younger, de Pressensé, Bersier, the elder and younger Puaux, de Félice, Douen, Weiss, and a new literary movement arose among such women as Mmes. DeWitt-Guizot, de Pressensé, Decoppet and Bersier.

On the passage of the liberal religious and educational laws of 1878 the activities of Protestants sprang into wonderful efficiency. In 1880, when the new laws came into effect, the Evangelical Society, then in its forty-seventh year, founded forty-seven new churches; the department of Creuse, in the center of France, which in 1871 numbered only ten scattered Protestants, in 1881 had sixty-one preaching stations of the same society. The Interior Mission of the Reformed Church, whose meetings were modeled after the McAll "reunions," often gathered four-fifths of the entire population of villages. In Noyon, Calvin's birthplace, where since he left it the gospel had not once been preached, the Central Society established Protestant services. The Young Men's Christian Association sprang into new activity. No danger now threatened the Protestant

minority, whether lay or clerical, and within a few years many preaching stations were opened in villages once exclusively Catholic. The extreme poverty of Protestants seemed to be the only hindrance to the nation-wide extension of Protestantism; and yet with all their poverty, their contributions to religious and charitable work exceeded, proportionately, those of English or American Protestants, averaging seven francs for each Protestant man, woman and child, whether or not church members. The celebration of the Second Centennial of the Revocation in 1885 brought to Protestants the realization that their noble ancestors had not suffered in vain. More than 1,000 pastors were preaching, and though there were only 600,000 Protestants, these were 175,000 more than in 1806.

Notwithstanding their poverty, they very seriously considered at the General Synod of 1888 held in St. Quentin the question of separation of Church and State. Senator Edmond de Pressensé, minister of a Free Church, advocated the measure amidst wild applause, and Pastor Eugène Bersier, "the Phillips Brooks of France," also a Free Church pastor, seconded the proposition. But the majority felt too keenly the poverty of the Church and its rapidly increasing financial responsibilities, to venture upon the step.

The virulent anti-Protestant campaign by which, after the Dreyfus affair, the Catholic Church took its reprisals, was rather an advantage to Protestantism than otherwise by awakening the body to self-consciousness and a sense of solidarity. On the other side, the best Catholic thinkers, ashamed of the methods fostered by their Church, began to study the basis of the claims which she

put forth, and a wide movement toward freedom—illustrated by such names as those of the Abbés Houtin, Klein, Lemire—brought an important group of priests out of their church, and some of them, though chiefly the less conspicuous among them, into the Reformed Church.

As the century wore toward its close a sense of social responsibility had grown up in the Reformed churches, leading to an important movement toward "social Christianity," of which the revered Tomy Fallot was the father, though he had died before it took definite form. All the congresses of the "Protestant Association for the Practical Study of Social Questions," had discussed theories of social Christianity. But actual workers made up the first Congress of Social Christianity, held in 1889 at Chambon de Tence. It considered the evangelization of the working man and led to the foundation of the paper *L'Avant Garde* as its unofficial organ. Another congress, held in Roubaix in 1900, was largely attended by social Christian workers. The first solidarities (neighborhood houses) had just been created at Roubaix, Lille, Rouen and Paris. The "White Star" League for social purity was organized. During the next year many solidarities were founded, the Review of Social Christianity appeared, social Christians entered into relations with those of France, Great Britain, Switzerland, Germany and America, and held a membership by correspondence in the "Brotherhood of the Kingdom" in the United States. A remarkable Congress was held in Rouen, distinguished for its eminently religious character and its endeavor to formulate religious principles as related to social problems, at which the venerable Pastor Charles

Babut of Nîmes, and Pastor Élie Gounelle of Roubaix, delivered striking addresses.

These congresses tended to obliterate lines of cleavage between the various factions of the Reformed Church, and to foster a longing for union, which became more marked as the new century drew on.

It was the universal awakening to the beauty of liberty, quite as much as the evident necessity to safeguard the state against the rapidly growing encroachments of certain Roman Catholic orders formed within the century, and therefore outside the provisions of the Concordat, which led the government in 1901 to introduce into Parliament the Associations bill. This important measure of liberty removed the restrictions upon religious bodies which had hampered every effort at collective action, but made an important exception in the case of societies whose members lived in common—monastic institutions. These were required to deposit with the authorities an inventory of their property, and submit to a process equivalent to incorporation. The introduction of this bill aroused a storm which a quarter century before would have wrecked the government. A league was formed by supporters of the government, a league of Catholic women raised 1,000,000 francs to enable the Orders to oppose it. The Dreyfus affair had shown that the nation was divided into two irreconcilable camps, standing respectively for the rights of man and for despotism; patriots of all shades stood for the rights of man, and the Briand bill became the Associations Law. The large majority of the Associations submitted, but a refractory minority rebelled with such noise and fury as to attract the attention of the world, and give the im-

pression in Protestant countries that the Roman Catholic Church in France was being despotically abused by an atheistic government.

The movement for the separation of Church and State which soon after followed was by no means due to the tumultuous opposition offered to the Associations Law, though those tumults naturally hastened its culmination. Its origin in fact dated back to the Second Republic, when in 1848 a committee was appointed by the Constituent Assembly to propose a report on the relations of Church and State. But for the *Coup d'Etat* by which the President of the Republic made himself emperor, it is highly probable that the abrogation of the Concordat might have been effected under circumstances most favorable for the Church and by no means unfavorable to Protestantism. But after the opposition to the Associations Law, bills for the abrogation of the Concordat poured into the Chamber of Deputies from all sides. As the work progressed the Deputies came to feel more and more the gravity of their task. The final result was the Disestablishment Law, a law relatively good, generally acceptable and in many respects large and liberal. First of all European nations France had emancipated the human soul; religion had ceased to be a function of government.

The Reformed churches had for years anticipated this measure, and realized all its gravity for them. Of their thirteen hundred pastors and evangelists, more than seven hundred, and these the best educated and more influential, were salaried by the State. Within the century, however, many new churches had been founded, not entitled to the government provision, and being mainly in poorer

regions these were largely dependent upon the older churches for aid. Financially the situation promised to be serious. But spiritually an important work of preparation had been going on. Protestants of all shades of thought had for ten years been associated in all forms of good works, and had come to understand and trust each other.

Fraternal conferences of both wings of the church had been held in Lyons in 1896 and 1899, yet when the separation law was passed the Protestants organized themselves in two separate groups. The Liberal wing, meeting in Montpellier in June, 1905, had declared their faith and principles with an evident disposition to harmonize with their brethren of the Evangelical churches. The latter met in General Synod at Orleans in January, 1906. Those members of the mediating group (the "Center"), who were disposed to union with the liberals, finding themselves in the minority, felt it to be their duty to withdraw. The Evangelical Reformed Church was then constituted in accordance with the principles laid down by the National Synod of 1872, and affirmed in subsequent Officious Synods.

The "Center" subsequently formed an independent group at Jarnac, Pastor Charles Wagner, representing the liberals, being present and uttering a magnificently inspired address. In the course of time these two bodies united in forming the Union of Reformed Churches.

The results of separation justified neither the hopes nor the fears which had been felt by many. An impulse of generosity prevailed. Few or no churches or preaching stations were suppressed; home and foreign missions were generously supported. The churches had indeed

not been ready for a great movement toward union; under the existing circumstances, such a movement was hardly practicable. But with the new grouping of Protestants arose a new interest in Church questions among the laity, with a new sense of individual responsibility.

# VI

## FRENCH PROTESTANT CHURCHES OF ALSACE AND LORRAINE

Pastor Frank Puaux, President of the Society of French Protestantism, wrote as follows in the *"Livre d'Or du Protestantisme Français"* (Golden Book of French Protestantism) designed for the World Exposition held at Chicago in 1892:

These fine Churches of Alsace, which asserted their religious life with such power, were taken from their mother country by the Annexation. How can we forget that Alsace gave to our country Oberlin, whose name evokes memories of an admirable life! How can we refrain from mentioning these learned men: Reuss, Matter, Baum, Cunitz, Wilm, who in the defence of religious faith united the brightness of our methods to the erudite researches of Germany? And to the scientific activities which were the honor of the Strasbourg school must be added those charitable and missionary activities which since the days of the Revival have renovated the Churches of Alsace. It was in Strasbourg that the pious Herter founded the Institute of Deaconesses, it was in Illzach that J. Koechlin, himself a blind man, founded the first asylum for the blind. To the same churches belonged prominent men such as Jean Dollfus, J. Koechlin, Engel, who first initiated social reform. French Protestantism, the history of which seems indeed to be the history of its sufferings, was once more compelled, through the severance of the churches of Alsace from their home country, to lose this élite of Christians who gave to France an honored name and to the Gospel a fine testimony.

By the German Annexation of Alsace the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession (Lutheran) lost 38 consistories and 191 parishes; the Reformed Church lost 5 consistories and 96 parishes.

According to Lichtenberger there were 270,699 Protestants in Alsace and Lorraine before the Annexation, by which France was deprived of Protestant church members in the proportion of one to four.

It is true that a large number of Alsatian Protestants, who were of comparatively more independent means than the Roman Catholics in the Annexed Departments, availed themselves of the right of option and settled in such towns as Belfort, Epinal, Thann les Vosges, Saint Dié, Nancy, Rheims, in the East; Elbeuf in Normandy, as well as in many parts of Algeria. A number of the most distinguished Alsatians settled in Paris. The Divinity Faculty of Strassburg was partly transferred to Paris. Wherever Alsatian Protestants went they joined the churches and were elected to the church councils. Their influence today is great, not only among French Lutherans, but also in the Reformed churches, because of their steadfastness, their administrative powers, and often their rank in trade or in official positions.

Nevertheless, the great bulk of the French Protestants of Alsace and Lorraine remained in the annexed territory, keeping as close intercourse as possible with their brothers in France, giving generous support to their social and missionary works, patiently waiting for better times.

The origin of the Lutheran Churches in Alsace dates back to Reformation days when the greater part of Alsace was not French territory (Lorraine was wholly

French and had few if any Lutheran Churches). The history of the Reformation in Alsace belongs to the history of the Reformation in the Rhine country, which is to be traced to the influence of Zwingli. Bucer in Strassburg tried to be both Zwinglian and Lutheran, and the name Lutheran was early attached to Alsatian Protestantism.

## VII

## THE REFORMATION IN BELGIUM

When the Reformation began in the sixteenth century Belgium formed a part of the Seventeen Provinces of the Netherlands which included what is now Holland and a part of Northern France (Flanders, Artois, Cambresis). All this territory had come into the possession of Charles V, Emperor of Germany and King of Spain. In that section of Western Europe, especially in the Flemish cities (Ypres, Bruges, Ghent, Antwerp), trade, industry, science and the arts had developed to the highest degree. From the Middle Ages, traditions of independence had been kept alive in the Flemish Communes; in 1477 they had secured from Mary of Burgundy the freest constitution that had yet been framed in Europe. General prosperity, freedom of opinion, widespread education, made of the Netherlands the best prepared soil for the seed of the rediscovered Gospel.

Within a few days after Luther posted his Theses at Wittenberg (Oct. 31, 1517), they had been printed, distributed and discussed all over Belgium. The first martyrs of Evangelical truth were two young Augustinian monks of Antwerp, John Voes and Henry Van Esschen, who were burned at the stake in 1523. Their heroism was celebrated by Luther in a beautiful hymn.

The movement spread rapidly; the cathedral of Antwerp, the churches of Ypres, Bruges, Ghent, Valenciennes, and other cities resounded with the new ideas, and were crowded with listeners; open air meetings outside the walls of Antwerp gathered as many as 20,000 hearers. It is said that two-thirds of the population of the Flemish provinces were gained for the Reformation.

The Emperor Charles V, however, had sworn to destroy heresy. He succeeded better in Belgium than in Germany. "Placards or decrees, announcing the establishment of a special Tribunal of the Inquisition, each more cruel and sanguinary than its predecessor, followed in rapid succession, till that of 1500 reached a climax of ferocity.

In 1555, Charles V abdicated in favor of his son, the notorious Philip II. More bigoted and cruel than his father, he trampled upon the civil rights and privileges solemnly sworn to in many charters both by himself and his father. All classes of citizens, without respect to creed, made common cause against the common oppressor. The revolutionary movement culminated in a "Petition of Rights" or *Compromis des Nobles* formally presented to Margaret of Parma, the Regent, in April, 1566, by four hundred nobles in person. From this act dates the name of *Gueux* or Beggars, assumed by Belgian Protestants and corresponding to the term Huguenot in France.

Philip's reply to the petition was an army of 13,000 foreign troops under the command of the cruel Duke of Alva. Thousands preferred death to abjuration of their faith in Jesus Christ. Men were burnt at the stake and women were buried alive. Alva boasted that he had

executed more than 18,000 people. The total number of the victims of the Spanish Inquisition in Belgium is not known, but must have reached at least 100,000. Many more fled, their property being confiscated by the King; some sought refuge in England carrying with them the secrets of the manufacture of woollen, linen and silk fabrics. Others went to the German Palatinate, where with the French Huguenots, they contributed largely to the economic development of Germany.

In 1563, the Synod of the Walloon Churches in the Provinces of Artois, Flanders, Brabant and Hainault, was organized under the influence of Calvin.

Remonstrance, petition, and every diplomatic device having utterly failed to secure redress, the Protestants, in the year 1568, under the leadership of William of Orange, "The Silent," took up hostilities which they continued with varying success for forty years.

In 1576, William of Orange succeeded in uniting the seventeen provinces into a union called the "Pacification of Ghent," but the southern (Walloon) provinces were invaded by Alexander Farnese. Antwerp was sacked, laid in ruins, almost obliterated. The defection of the ten southern provinces forced the formation by the seven northern provinces of the "Union of Utrecht" (1579). Combined into a federation, the Republic of the United Netherlands secured the first free constitution of modern times, applying to the State the principles laid down in the synodical and representative organization of their Calvinistic churches.

A larger emigration to Holland from the Belgian provinces took place. All those believers and patriots who refused to submit to the King of Spain and

to the Romish Inquisition, left their homes, forfeiting everything they possessed, losing their all to save their souls. Among them were skilful artisans, wealthy merchants and bankers, noblemen and distinguished scientists. From economic, political, moral and spiritual viewpoints this was an irreparable loss to Belgium. The few Protestants who remained in the country were exterminated or reduced to subjection.

# PART II

# TWENTIETH CENTURY FRENCH AND BELGIAN PROTESTANTISM

# I

# ITS ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES

## Churches

French Protestantism, as has been seen, is mainly the offspring of a national religious movement by which in the early days of the sixteenth century an endeavor was made toward the reformation of the Roman Catholic Church; hence the name, the REFORMED CHURCHES OF FRANCE.

In addition to the Reformed Churches there are in the Departments of the East, in Paris and in Algeria, churches originally springing from the Lutheran and Zwinglian Reformation which constitute the Evangelical Lutheran Church of France. The Free Churches are Reformed churches which in the middle of the nineteenth century broke the bond which united them with the state. The Methodist churches originated through the influence of the Wesleyan Reformation in England, and at a later date Mission churches were established by the Methodist Episcopal Church in America. There are independent Baptist churches also and a few independent churches of the Congregational type.

All these churches are combined in the Protestant Federation of France, whose object is to manifest the essential union of French Protestants, and to coordinate their efforts for moral and social action.

The Disestablishment Law of 1905 threw the Reformed and Lutheran churches entirely upon their own resources. The vigorous effort toward financial organization thus forced upon them had not yielded its full results when the crisis of the war came.

In order to comply with the Disestablishment Law, each local church had to constitute its own *Association Cultuelle*[1] for the management of such funds as it might raise for the maintenance of public worship and all other causes, such as missions, education and the care of the poor—the suppression of the Budget of Worship being the natural consequence of the Separation Law.

In certain respects the free church bodies (Reformed, Methodist, Baptist and other independent churches), had an advantage over the established churches. They were accustomed to self-government and to ecclesiastical freedom, and being always self-supporting the separation law threw upon them no new financial burden, whereas the established churches had to a certain degree been pauperized by not being required to support their pastors. The problem of maintenance was seriously increased by the *disséminés* or scattered Protestants, who to the number of more than two hundred thousand were found in all parts of the country, many of them in spiritual destitution. Manifestly such could not form churches and it was in their behalf that the home mis-

[1] No adequate translation has been found for *Association Cultuelle*, though both French and English speaking people have long labored over the expression. It may be observed that the word "Church" does not once appear in the separation law of December 9, 1905. Literally, *Association Cultuelle* means "association for worship," but the expression includes and indeed especially connotes "association for the transaction of the business connected with worship."

sionary societies were founded nearly a century ago.

Under the separation law each cultural association is governed by a presbyterial council (session). These councils are permitted to unite in consistories (presbyteries; the word is not used in this sense in French), and these may meet in General Synod or other assemblies having no political purpose. General Synods must meet once a year and present a financial report. This law applies to all churches.[1]

Before the separation of Church and State, the Reformed churches of France were one body before the law. They are now organized in two different bodies:

1. **The Union of Evangelical Reformed Churches.**
2. **The Union of Reformed Churches.**

The General Synod (see p. 49) had been called by the Permanent Committee of the Reformed Churches. A difference of opinion had arisen, not so much on doctrinal grounds as on conditions of membership in the "associations" about to be formed. The result was a division, two-fifths of the pastors present leaving the body. The remaining three-fifths drew up a constitution and laws for the Evangelical Reformed Church of France, to which about the same proportion of the churches throughout the country have adhered.

**The Union of Evangelical Reformed Churches of France** maintains as its basis the Declaration of Faith elaborated by the last General Synod of all the Reformed

[1] The Protestant population of France is now estimated at 600,000 among 38,000,000 nominal Roman Catholics of whom only a small proportion are "practicing." There are about 1,200 Protestant churches of all communions, besides missions and other small groups, with more than 1,200 pastors. The accession of Alsace and Lorraine would add about 275,000 to the Protestant population.

Churches (1872), and its pastors are required to give adherence to it.

These churches, organized according to the principles and rules of presbyterial and synodical government, number 400 and have constituted 446 *Associations Cultuelles* with approximately 80,000 voting members. They are distributed into twenty Regional Unions, covering the entire territory of France and Algeria, meeting every year in Particular Synods, and forming a National Union, holding a regular annual National Synod.

**The Union of Reformed Churches of France.** The "liberal" delegation in 1905 formed its adherents into the "United Reformed Churches" and adopted a Declaration of Principles which greatly encouraged the "mediating group" in the Reformed Church (see p. 49) in their hope that division in the Reformed Church might be prevented. In the new efforts put forth for union, the venerable and universally beloved and trusted Pastor Charles Babut of Nimes, a leading member of the Union of Evangelical Reformed Churches, one of the three pastoral survivors of the Synod of 1872, earnestly and most affectionately joined, writing a series of letters which were published in all denominational papers and must always be preserved as a precious historical document of the Reformed Church of France.

In June, 1912, certain of the mediating group who had remained out of both organizations with the hope of ultimately bringing them together, seeing that the time was not ripe for full union, met with delegates of the United Reformed Churches in the Church of the Oratoire, in Paris, and founded the National Union of Reformed Churches. The Union has the same form of organiza-

tion as that of the Evangelical Reformed Churches and consists of ten Regional Unions.

**The Union of Free Evangelical Churches of France.** The revival followed by the Revolution of 1830 resulted in the establishment of Free Churches in 1848. The Chapels Taitbout and St. Maur in Paris have exerted a wide influence, the former over the educated classes, the latter over the working people of the Faubourgs of the Temple and St. Antoine. The Union includes 48 churches united under a Synodical Commission, with 50 pastors and evangelists, a professor in the Theological Faculty of Paris and several missionaries in Africa under the Foreign Missionary Society, in the support of which all Protestant churches unite.

**Evangelical Lutheran Churches.** Lutherans were found in France in the early years of the Reformation. The first martyrs to Protestantism in France were condemned and executed as "Lutherans," then a term of opprobrium, the persecution beginning in 1520. For two decades non-conformists of all shades of opinion were classed indiscriminately as Lutherans. When the Protestant churches of France were organized, however, it was under the influence of Calvin, and for many years the only home of the Lutheran Church in France was the Swedish Embassy at Paris, where Lutheran services were held without interruption in Swedish, German and French, down to 1806. Even during the Reign of Terror, when the Reformed Church had to take refuge at Charenton, the Lutheran services were undisturbed. In a single consistory there is deposited a register containing more than 4,000 signatures testifying to the fidelity of the Lutherans to their faith during the six-

teenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Among them is the name of de Dietrich, the first French Mayor of Strassburg. It was in the house of his son that the Marseillaise was composed and first sung.

In 1809 Napoleon gave official recognition to the Lutheran Church, having previously done the same for the Reformed Church. He gave the Lutheran Church the old Église des Billettes in Paris, nominating two titular pastors and providing the church with an endowment. This church then counted more than 10,000 members.

From 1848 to 1870 the Lutheran Church in France enjoyed its period of greatest prosperity. The ties between the church in Alsace and in other parts of France were very close and the prosperity of Alsace was accompanied by large generosity on the part of the Alsatian Lutherans to the churches in Montbéliard and Paris.

The war of 1870 dealt a crushing blow to the Lutheran Church in France. By Germany's seizure of Alsace the French Church lost her University at Strassburg, 194 parishes, 250 of her 330 ministers, and 270,699 parishioners. At the same time she was deprived of the generous financial support which she had been receiving from Alsatian sources. She became the church of the defeated and the period of suffering upon which she then entered has lasted until the present day. Because of her poverty she was obliged to confine her operations to a few districts; Paris, Montbéliard (near Belfort on the eastern frontier), Lyons, Elbeuf, Nice, and Algeria. She had neither the men nor the means to follow the Alsatian immigrant who settled in Eastern France. Nevertheless she succeeded in maintaining the centers previously estab-

lished. Her theological faculty was suppressed, the professors removing to Paris, where with professors of the Reformed Churches they formed the present Theological Faculty of Paris. Her charitable institutions have been kept up and enlarged, new charities, hospitals and deaconess homes have been established, and by her *Mission Intérieure,* which combines social welfare and home mission work, she has founded new parishes in the suburbs of Paris.

In 1872 the Church was reorganized to meet the difficulties which the war had created. The two *inspections* (dioceses) of Montbéliard and Paris were united under a synodical form of government. This organization successfully met the crisis caused by the separation of Church and State in 1906. Its entire budget had been subscribed by voluntary contributions by the time the separation went into effect.

At the present time the Church has 58 churches, divided into two *inspections* (dioceses), one for Paris and Algeria, and one for the Pays de Montbéliard. It has 80 ministers and two ecclesiastical inspectors (bishops). In Paris it has ten churches with 24 pastors. At the time of the separation it had about 30,000 members (whole families included). In its membership are men of high standing in the university, the army, in law, commerce and industry.[1]

[1] Dr. Chauncey W. Goodrich, pastor of the American Church in Paris, thus writes of the Lutherans of France:

"They are among the most intensely loyal of French people, and as they were the first French Protestants to suffer death for their faith, they have maintained a vigorous religious life in the center of France throughout the generations. It is somewhat symbolic of their intense loyalty that the Statue of Liberty, a

**Evangelical Methodist Churches of France.** Methodism was introduced into France in 1818 by the English Wesleyan, Charles Cook, not as a new denomination but as a society within the Reformed (the old Huguenot) Church, which it hoped to revive. Through Cook and his associates a new spirit was infused into French Protestantism. But opposition in some cases and in others the force of circumstances led eventually to the forming of separate congregations in Normandy, in the east and the south of France and in Paris. The movement received much help from the Channel Islands.

There are now 30 Methodist (Wesleyan) churches[1] and 30 pastors, divided into two Regional Districts, south and north, and meeting in annual General Synod. As they had never received help from the State the separation law only incidentally affected them.

**Union of French-Speaking Baptist Churches.** The first Baptist churches in France were organized through the instrumentality of the American Baptist Foreign

gift from the French Republic to America, should have been designed by a Lutheran and an Alsatian. The Bartholdi family are all of this stock.

The French Lutherans have always carried a heavy burden of mission work, and they have much to show for their efforts in seeking out neglected parts of this city, and building up, from small beginnings, strong and devoted churches. Their financial burden is, however, likely soon to be increased by the repatriation of Alsace. The Protestants in that country are being systematically impoverished by the seizure of personal property, etc., and when evacuation by the Germans comes the Church will be in desperate need, and will look to the French Lutherans for help. . . . I have visited personally many of the hospitals and homes of the Lutheran Church and have been greatly impressed by the practical efficiency with which they are run. Certainly I have seen nothing better in Protestant work in France.

[1] This does not include the mission churches established by the American Methodist Church (see p. 183 f.).

Mission Society (see p. 185 f.). After 1856 supervision of the work was left with French leaders, of whom the Rev. J. B. Crétin was perhaps the most prominent. The Baptist churches shared to the full the stimulus resulting from the founding of the McAll Mission.[1]

Twenty-nine Baptist churches are organized in two bodies: The Baptist Churches of the Franco-Belgian Association, and the Baptist Churches of the Franco-Swiss Association, the two including 36 pastors, evangelists, foreign missionaries and elders.

The first Association comprises the Baptist churches in the north of France and in Belgium. The general fund of this group is mainly provided by grants from the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society. Before the war there were eleven salaried pastors in this Association, six of them stationed in the subsequently invaded regions. The Franco-Swiss Committee has charge of the Baptist churches in the east of France and in French-speaking Switzerland, the latter having associated themselves with the churches of eastern France.[2]

**Independent Churches.** These number about 30 churches with 40 pastors or evangelists.

Chief among the independent churches are those founded in the middle of the last century by the English-

[1] Rev. Ruben Saillens, the Baptist evangelist, now one of the leading pulpit orators of France, received his training in this mission.

[2] A very godly man, Pastor Robert, of Neûchatel, upon his death left a church which was practically Baptist, since all its members had been immersed. His influence had extended into many of the surrounding towns, among which was Tramelan, a village situated high up in the Jura Mountains. When these people learned through Dr. Saillens that the Baptist churches in France were identical with theirs in faith and practice, they came over in a body and united with them.

man, J. M. Darby, one of the most brilliant among the Plymouth Brethren. With few leaders of note and never publishing any statistics, they are less known than their numbers would seem to warrant. Numerous congregations calling themselves Darbyists may be found in the Departments of the Upper Loire and Ardêche and scattered through many parts of France and Belgium. Their main contribution to the church universal has been their teaching of the priesthood of believers.

About two hundred people, descendants possibly of the "prophets" of the Desert, holding views analogous to those of the Friends, though by no means deriving their tenets from England, have linked themselves with the English Friends. Probably the sect existed in France as early as in England, though neither was known to the other. Excellent Christians have risen from this small group. There are also several small bodies of Mennonites.

In addition to organized Protestants, several thousand *disséminés* or scattered Protestants, live far from any church and too far apart to be gathered into churches. This condition has thrown a burden upon the home mission societies, and thus upon the churches.

## Training of Ministers

Two Protestant Divinity Seminaries are established in France. The older, the Montauban Faculty, is the theological school of the Evangelical Reformed Churches, which have also a Preparatory Divinity School in Paris. The Paris Faculty, founded after the loss of the Strassburg Faculty, trains both Reformed and Lutheran min-

isters. The Reformed churches also have a preparatory school in Nimes.

The Methodist Church has a theological school in Neuilly. The Baptist churches have a school for evangelists in Paris. As yet, however, the Baptists have no theological school. Their students usually take a preparatory course with a pastor and then go to a Baptist seminary in England, generally to Spurgeon's College. Many Baptist students attend the convention held each summer at Morges in Switzerland which is usually led by Pastor Saillens.

## The Protestant Churches of Belgium

In 1830, when Belgium became an independent nation, no Belgian Protestants were to be found except a few small groups near Mons, Ghent, Tournai, Rongy and Maria Hausbeck. The Spanish Inquisition had wiped them out.

**The Union of Evangelical Protestant Churches of Belgium.** Under the Napoleonic and the Dutch régimes a few additional congregations were organized in the large cities for foreign Protestant residents: Dutch, Swiss, British and German. Leopold I, himself a Protestant, brought with him from Saxony several Protestant officials. These congregations were organized as the *Union des Églises Protestantes Évangéliques de Belgique*, recognized by the State on the same legal footing as the Roman Catholic Church, the state providing the salaries of pastors with churches and manses. In 1914 this Union consisted of 28 churches and mission stations with 38 pastors and evangelists.

Through the work of these churches and of the *Commission d'Évangélisation,* a home missionary committee not supported by the State, many Belgian converts have been added. The descendants of foreign Protestants have become thoroughly assimilated and in the recent war were most loyal to Belgium. Among the influential citizens who are members of this church are the Belgian Foreign Minister at Havre, M. Paul Hymans, leader of the Opposition in the Belgian House of Representatives, and Professor P. Frederick of Ghent, the historian of the Reformation in Belgium, who was deported to Germany.

**The Belgian Missionary Church.** In 1837 a committee of laymen with three pastors of the then existing churches, one of them the Rev. Jonathan de Visme, formed the *Société évangélique belge* (the Belgian Evangelical Society) for the purpose of spreading the Gospel. Its field lies chiefly among the working people, especially the coal miners, and in many respects it resembles the Central Evangelical Society in the north of France. Many churches have grown out of the evangelizing tours, open air and cottage meetings of this organization. All Belgium is considered its parish. Its fixed purpose is to make the Gospel known throughout the country, thus bringing back the glorious past when more than six hundred pastors were ministering in Belgium.

There are now 43 churches with stations and posts for regular services in 143 different places, with 30 pastors, 18 evangelists and Bible readers. The organization has 78 "temples" and rented halls. The 12,000 registered members have nearly all come out from the Roman Catholic Church or from free thinking people. With these are many non-registered attendants who fre-

quently ask for pastoral ministry. Nearly all are of the laboring and industrial classes; few are from the middle classes. Yet since the outbreak of war an evident interest has been shown by the professional classes, who have been impressed by the courageous and dignified attitude of these churches, and an encouraging number have become registered members.[1]

## Home Missions

All the Reformed Churches are engaged in home mission work, and have accordingly constituted general and regional home mission boards, but two great societies are conspicuously devoted to home missions, the Central Evangelical Society and the Popular Evangelical Mission of France (McAll Mission). In addition there are the *Mission Intérieure* of the Reformed Churches and the *Mission Intérieure* of the Lutheran Church.

**The Central Evangelical Society** (*Société Centrale Évangélique*) was created in 1847 as the Central Society by the union of the Bordeaux Society for Evangelization, the Christian Society of the North and the Normandy Society for Evangelization, and was enlarged in 1910 by merging with it the Evangelical Society of France, which had been carrying on itinerant work since 1833. Its president is M. Emile Soulié and its director Pastor Paul Barde. The object of this strong society has been to

[1] In the general poverty and distress nothing has been more admirable than the spirit of devotion and liberality of the Belgian churches. Each year of the war the Belgian Missionary Church received from its own members at least 50 per cent of what they used to contribute in time of peace and plenty. In 1917-18, they even gave 12 per cent more than during the preceding financial year.

provide for the religious needs of scattered Protestants and form them into groups, and since the passage of the liberalizing law of 1878 also to evangelize non-Protestants. Its various departments cover the entire territory of France (228 stations and out-stations), and from it have grown 124 churches, 93 of which have joined the Reformed Churches and the remainder the Free and Lutheran Churches. No society is more faithfully supported by French Protestants. Not more than from eight to ten per cent of its budget (in 1914, $106,000) has been received from abroad.

An important branch of the work of the Central Society is the Section for French colonies, or more correctly "Association for the Development and Maintenance of Protestant Worship in French Colonies and Protectorates." Founded in 1862, when evangelistic work was strictly confined by law to Protestant soldiers, officials and colonists, its value has been made strikingly evident during the present war by the numbers and the admirable conduct of Protestant "colonials" in the army. The Society works in seven fields, Algeria, Morocco, Cochin-China, New Caledonia, Tonkin, Tunis and Senegal.

**The Popular Evangelical Mission of France** (McAll Mission) has 31 stations with 25 agents, lay and ordained. This mission is especially addressed to the non-church going population and is received with wonderful alacrity by the working people and with marked approbation by the civil authority. The first hall was inaugurated in January, 1872, and six weeks after a second was opened. In the autumn "Thursday Schools" were begun for religious and manual instruction of children and in January, 1873, Sunday Schools. With-

in a few years there were 25 halls in Paris and 113 scattered through the provinces of France, Algeria and Corsica. Many of these halls have been taken over by near-by churches. Two mission boats ply on the waterways of France, with itinerants and colporteurs to follow up their work, an Automobile Mission in Brittany, six portable halls for pioneering work (of which one, stationed in the north, was taken by the invaders in August, 1914), and in later years solidarities, fraternities, people's foyers—all of them forms of neighborhood work on a strictly religious basis—have well proved the truth of the unknown working man's statement: "We are ready, if someone will come and teach us the true religion of freedom and reality" (see p. 42). Although its aim is "not to found churches, but to feed them," at least eight Protestant churches have grown out of its work in regions where none existed before. Except in these cases, the numerous converts of the Mission unite with the nearest Protestant church, especially when, as is almost invariably the case, the pastors of these churches have helped in the Mission by preaching at regular stated times in one or another of the halls or on a mission boat. Thousands have been brought to Christ, hundreds of lives have been transformed and numbers of missionaries, pastors and social workers have come up from the humble halls of the McAll Mission. It is to the cooperation of Protestant pastors and people that the great efficiency of this work is largely due. Though largely supported by foreign contributions, without their help the mission could not have lived.[1]

[1] The Mission has not been slow to repay the service. Many a pastor of the present generation owes his practical efficiency to

As the McAll Mission brought to the unchurched an assurance of that fraternity of which they were dreaming, so to the hard pressed Protestant churches it brought an evidence of Christian brotherhood that gave them new heart. It was an illustration of the Christian aggressiveness of Protestants in lands where initiative was unchecked, an example of Christian social activity. It proved to be a training school for lay efforts. "The Mission serves our churches in a way peculiarly its own," said Pastor Edmond de Pressensé, "offering to both pastors and people the broadest and most beautiful form of evangelical alliance." [1]

**The Home Mission** (*Mission Intérieure*) of the Reformed Churches forms local groups of believers, which are visited by itinerant agents, especially in the south of France.

**The Mission Intérieure** of the Lutheran Church, founded in 1830, sought to evangelize Catholics, to search out dispersed Protestants, to found schools where services might be held, and which might later become

the training he received in its halls; many a missionary, evangelist, Bible reader, heard the call to service from its platform. The missionary Frederic Christol was a young artist who, returning from his army service in 1872, was attracted by the personality of Mr. McAll and placed his pencil and then himself at the service of the Mission. He was converted in the hall that he served, and gave up the brilliant career that his artistic successes promised, to follow François Coillard to the mission field in South Africa.

[1] Though the work may well be called international, Englishmen and Americans sitting with distinguished Frenchmen upon its directing board, it has long been a thoroughly French work, in which volunteers from other countries love to join. Pastor Eugène Bersier for many years gave two evenings every week to preaching in these halls, and the last ministerial acts of his life were to sit upon a McAll council and preach in a McAll hall.

district churches. When a local effort became sufficiently important, the consistory adopted it and recommended it to the State. The latter then guaranteed the pastor's salary and the Mission extended its activity to another point. Although the State creaed no new posts after 1880, and although the separation of Church and State has increased its expenses, this society has continued to maintain six parishes, and has founded three new centers: St. Ouen, Persan-Baumont and Vanves, with an annual budget of 42,000 francs.

**The French Baptist Home Mission.** The Baptist work has had its share in the wave of affliction which has passed over the once prosperous North. Hundreds of happy homesteads built around its chapels have been destroyed and scattered, and their former inmates exiled. Those of the Franco-Belgian Baptist churches that are still in existence have labored under great trials but with indestructible faith. Services have almost everywhere been carried on regularly. In some places in the war zone, for instance at Montbéliard, the work was hampered by military regulations, but in other cases there were something like revival times, though the hymns to the praise of God had the dismal accompaniment of the cannon bass.

The work of the Franco-Swiss Association lies in strategic points which are admirably suited as a basis for further advance. These are either large cities such as Paris, Lyons, Marseilles and Nice, where the workers have to deal chiefly with the Roman Catholics, or the most important centers of the French speaking Protestant districts, as Geneva, Nimes, Montbéliard, Chaux de Fonds.

**The Priest Work** (*Oeuvre des Prêtres*) was founded in 1884, at the time of the great movement "away from Rome," by M. Eugène Réveillaud, then a deputy, now a senator, and up to the outbreak of the war it had aided nearly five hundred priests who had given up their cures. In 1910 it opened in Paris a fraternity which has now become independent of the original work. A small number of former priests have become Protestant pastors, but the majority of them, not having sufficient education for the pastorate, have entered other callings.

Among local home mission efforts the following may be mentioned, the Barbezieux Work, the Pons Work, the Upper Aragon Mission in the Pyrenees and several missions in Brittany. The activity of the Evangelical Society of Geneva and of the Salvation Army should not be forgotten.

Bible Societies are spreading the Scriptures in France.

**The Protestant Bible Society of Paris,** the oldest religious society of French Protestantism founded in 1818, has always made generous distribution of Bibles, New Testaments and Scripture portions.

**The Bible Society of France** was founded in 1864 for a similar purpose.[1]

**The British and Foreign Bible Society** has maintained a branch in France with a French General Secretary.

The subject of evangelization has been of growing interest, especially since the separation of Church and

[1] The American Bible Society has long made contributions of money to these societies. It seems probable that they will ere long be merged into one as a result of the initiative of the French Protestant Federation.

State gave full religious freedom to all persons. In 1913 a Conference of Evangelization was called by the Central Evangelical Society to meet in Paris in May. It was largely attended and papers of extraordinary value were presented.[1]

## Foreign Missions

**The Foreign Missionary Society** (*Société des Missions Évangéliques chez les peuples non Chrétiens*), known as the Paris Missionary Society, was founded in 1822 and has seven fields, the last two in Oceania: Basutoland, Zambezi, French Congo, Senegal, Madagascar, New Caledonia, Tahiti. (For particulars see Section III.)

The Lutheran Church has always taken her full share in the work of the Paris Missionary Society, which is the missionary agency of nearly all the churches. This church, having been brought into touch with the Norwegian and the American Scandinavian Missions in Madagascar through the French conquest of the island,

[1] The evangelization of the laboring classes, of the intellectual classes and of the rural districts were the three special subjects considered. Resolutions were adopted relative to Protestant schools, classes for the study of the Bible and of social questions, the founding of missionary churches and the training of evangelists, and it was recommended that another congress be called the following year to consider especially the creation of a committee to connect the work of all the evangelizing societies in France. It is a sorrowful fact that the outbreak of war prevented the assembling of the second congress. Happily the proceedings of the first were published in a volume of 426 octavo pages and remain a manual of valuable information and instruction for all workers in this field.

furnished these missions French helpers to train French-speaking teachers.

The Methodist churches entirely support the French Protestant Mission among the Kabyles in Algeria.

In Algeria the Baptists also have a few missionary stations connected with their work among Spanish-speaking people.

**The Belgian Congo Missionary Society** (*Société belge des missions protestantes au Congo*). The Belgian churches have always sent substantial donations to the Paris Missionary Society. When the Congo Free State became a Belgian colony, Belgian Protestants felt a special responsibility with regard to the native tribes. In 1910 the Belgian Congo Missionary Society was founded by the joint action of the synods of the Established and the Missionary Churches. In 1911, the Director of Missions, Dr. Henri Anet, visited the American, British and Swedish missions in the Belgian Congo. He represented these missions in their relations with the Belgian government and in many cases brought about a better understanding. Four young Belgians had for several years been working with the English Baptist and the American Presbyterian Congo Missions.

## Inter-Church Organizations

**The Protestant Federation of France.** Long before the separation of Church and State there was a general desire for a closer union among Protestants, already closely bound by united work in missionary and benevolent operations. In 1892, to insure the representation of French Protestant activities at the Columbian Exposition

in Chicago, Pastor Decoppet of the Church of the Oratoire formed a committee which undertook to publish the monumental "Golden Book of French Protestantism," a superb quarto, edited by M. Frank Puaux and setting forth the religious, charitable and missionary works of French Protestantism.

For a time nothing further came of this federative effort, but in 1903 Pastor Decoppet's successor, Pastor Wilfred Monod, a guest of the Synod of the Free Churches held at Clairac, so presented the cause of federation as to lead to the unanimous adoption by the Synod, of an appeal "to all Christians who are sons of the Reformation to take measures for removing the barriers between the churches and to facilitate their fraternal collaboration in the service of God for humanity."

The invitation was received with joy by the Synods of the several Churches; in 1904 a commission was formed for the study of the subject, and in September, 1905, representatives of the Reformed Church of France, the "Liberal Delegation" (not as yet set apart from the old Huguenot body), the "Churches of the Augsburg Confession" (Lutherans), the Free Churches and the (Wesleyan) Methodist Churches formed the Protestant Federation of France, which at least nominally became the central organ of French Protestantism, with official powers.

The deep preoccupations preceding and following the passage of the Disestablishment Law, with the necessity of reorganizing such churches as had until that time been officially connected with the State, delayed the complete organization of the Federation until the spring of 1907.

The Council of the Federation then transmitted to the Hague Conference through the French Ambassador, M. Bourgeois, the following message, signed by the President of the Council of the Federation, Edouard Gruner, and the Secretary, H. Cordey:

> The Protestant Federation of France, which unites in a single body almost the entirety of the Protestant Churches of France, transmits to the Conference of The Hague the expression of its respectful sympathy and its ardent hope for the near and definitive triumph of the ideas of international arbitration and of peace.
>
> It invokes the blessing of God upon the deliberations of the Conference.

Since that time until 1914 the Churches have annually observed a Peace Sunday. At the first General Assembly of French Protestantism, held at Nîmes, October, 1909, the Constitution of the Protestant Federation was publicly adopted. The adherence of the Baptist Churches, which send delegates to the Council of the Federation, has further enlarged its influence.[1]

Since the outbreak of war the Federation has more than once been called to utter an energetic protest against the abuse of force and the violation of human and divine

[1] By its Constitution the Federation was held to convoke quinquennially a General Assembly of French Protestantism to which delegates from the independent churches were also admitted. The second of these Assemblies was about to be called to meet in Lyons in October, 1914, when the outbreak of war summoned all French Protestants, pastors and laity, to the duty of defending their invaded country. Even the one General Assembly had already proved the value of such plenary meetings, in which, as one pastor afterward said, Protestants could learn to know and love one another. "This first experience of interecclesiastical fraternity is decisive and a cause for rejoicing. One could

laws. In the early months of the war the Federation formed a Committee of Propaganda in Foreign Parts (*Comité Protestant Français de la Propagande dans les Pays étrangers*), calling to its presidency Professor André Weiss of the Institute of France. This Committee is the organ of the Federation for relations with other Protestant nations. It founded a Bulletin which is widely circulated among French-speaking peoples, bringing to their knowledge the part of French Protestantism in important national events. The Federation and the Committee of Propaganda united in sending delegates to Holland and the Scandinavian countries, and on June 3, 1917, they invited the Ambassador of the United States to celebrate with them, by a solemn act of worship, the entrance of the United States into the war.

### Educational and Moral Agencies

A few of the leading societies for religious and moral education which give assistance to the efforts of the churches and to the private activities of their members may be mentioned: Society for the Promoting of Primary Teaching among the Protestants of France (founded in 1829), Sunday School and Religious Tract

hardly have expected so complete a fusion of souls. It has proved the moral and even the religious unity of Protestantism."

During the ten years of its existence the Protestant Federation of France has been more and more frequently summoned to become the voice of the Protestant conscience, stressing the importance of religious liberty in France and its colonies, bringing its influence to bear upon the passage and observance of laws to check intemperance and public immorality, and appealing to the public sense of responsibility for oppressed peoples, or for regions suffering under any form of evil.

Society, Society for the History of French Protestantism, French Temperance Society of the Blue Cross, the French Band of Hope (*Espoir*) and the White Star, a purity league.

### Benevolent Agencies

**The Diaconate.** In early days the "care of the poor" of the churches was placed, in accordance with the apostolic ruling, under the charge of a body of deacons. Many considerations tended to the extinction of this custom, but as the purposes of French Protestants broadened with the larger opportunities afforded them by the liberal laws of the Third Republic (1878, 1880, 1888) they awoke to the advantages of the ancient custom, which brought needy Protestants under directly religious influences, by which, as Dean Doumergue says, a Protestant church not only preaches charity, but carries on all social works with charity. In 1901 the Commission for Social and Moral Activity called a Congress of Diaconates. It was held in Lille in October, 1902, in connection with other Protestant benevolent societies, to consider with kindred problems three special subjects: 1. How to stimulate the zeal of deacons and bring them into closer mutual relations. 2. How to associate women with the work. 3. How to elevate the poor morally, materially, and socially, and to "abolish so far as possible that lower form of charity known as alms." [1]

[1] One hundred and three diaconates were represented by one hundred and fifty pastors and laity including fourteen women. The ancient discipline of the Huguenot Church was studied with a view to adapting it to present conditions, and recommendations were made for the federation of all diaconates and for periodical conferences of deacons and social workers.

With the separation law the question of the diaconate became acute, as by virtue of that law the churches, *Associations Cultuelles,* might not directly undertake "the care of the poor." Three measures were however open to deacons. They might remain what they had been, "unofficial" (*officieux*) bodies closely connected with the church, but without legal existence; the several diaconates might unite under the Associations law, as did the Young Men's Christian Associations (*Unions Chrétiennes de Jeunes Gens*), and include pastors, deacons and subscribing members; or, they might form themselves into benevolent societies (*Sociétés de Bienfaisance*) which would be "recognized as of public utility" and therefore competent to receive legacies, which other Associations may not.[1]

**The Deaconess Institute,** established in 1841 in the east of Paris, is in itself a little world, containing as it does a training school for new deaconesses, a hospital of which the children's department is the most touching feature, a reform school (*disciplinaire*) for girls viciously disposed, a "preventive" school for little girls who had been brought under evil influences and a Maternal School for little children.

[1] In 1911 the Fourteenth Congress of the Protestant Association for the Practical Study of Social Questions called the Second Congress of Diaconates to meet with it at its next Congress. Eight hundred and seventy questionnaires had been sent out; the replies received showed an important progress in Protestant benevolence and in the activities of Christian women. M. Armand Lods, LL.D., editor of the Review of Laws and Jurisprudence, presented an able report on the laws relating to the diaconate, from 1559 to the present time. Among the subjects discussed the questions of the unemployed and the social ministry of women received the most attention. An important feature of the Congress was a series of visits to the most

**Two Protestant Hospitals** are worthy of mention. The *Maison de Santé* at Nimes, founded in 1846 for the poor and sick, is a vast building with a surgical pavilion, a home for aged couples, a special home for tuberculous cases and a training school for nurses. A maternity hospital was in course of construction when the work was interrupted by the war. Ninety beds have been put at the disposal of the military service.

The *Maison de Santé Protestante* at Bordeaux, founded in 1863, is the only general Protestant hospital and nursing school in France. It has been a pioneer in training nurses as well as in other modern hospital methods and its services are favorably known throughout France, especially its training school of nurses. It receives annual support from the city of Bordeaux.

The introduction of the **Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor** (*l'Activité Chrétienne*) into France by "Father Endeavor" and Mrs. Clark in 1890 wrought an innovation by bringing young people of both sexes to work together for religious objects.

There are institutions for the deaf and the blind, homes for children whose mothers are in hospitals, convalescent

notable among the Protestant charitable institutions of Paris, of which there are many.

A third Congress of Diaconates was held in Havre in June, 1914, almost on the eve of the totally unanticipated war. Its entire proceedings were a development of the idea presented at its opening by Professor Maury: "The diaconate should be something more and better than a distributer of alms." That it already was so was evident from the reports presented. These considered, among other subjects, free loans, mutual loans, the health of mothers, "social residences," and made arrangements for the admission of members of this Congress into the Protestant Association for the Study of Social Questions under especially favorable conditions.

homes, homes near mineral springs for those afflicted with special diseases, seaside homes for the tired and the sick, vacation homes for children. The work of "The Three Weeks," begun in 1881 by Pastor Lorriaux of Paris, for giving summer outings to the children of the very poor, was the first of many "Fresh Air" movements in France. There are free dispensaries, employment bureaus, loan associations. The Bordeaux Society for free loans founded in the middle of the last century was the first of its kind in history. A society of lady visitors in hospitals exists, and many societies of friends of apprentices. There is the work among women in prisons, and that for fallen women, a society to help liberated prisoners, an asylum for young girls morally abandoned, one for laborers without work, a Christian home for servants, homes for working women, and many kindred associations. The sheltered, almost secluded life of young girls of good family in France, had so effectually kept them aloof from philanthropic work that it was an event when a society of young girls analogous to our Needlework Guild, but preceding it by a number of years, was formed under the modest and suggestive name of the *Fourmis* (Ants) in which 7,000 to 8,000 young girls are sewing for the poor.

The social consciousness of French Protestants is remarkably manifested in their philanthropy. They have over fifty orphanages and as many homes for the aged. In 1904 Protestants in Paris numbered 100,000, or one in twenty-five of the population. With the exception of certain bankers and heads of mercantile houses few are wealthy. Many are artisans, laborers, small shopkeepers. Many are Protestants by inheritance only, rather than by

religious conviction. Yet the Protestants of Paris maintain no fewer than sixty distinct works of benevolence, aside from their strictly religious activities. These benevolent works are without sectarian aspect, being carried on by men and women of all Protestant communions.

The asylums founded in 1848 at La Force (Dordogne) by M. John Bost seem to meet almost every human need. "The Family" for the children of scattered Protestants, or those exposed to evil influences, "Bethesda" for girl idiots and incurables, "Ebenezer" for epileptic girls and women, "Siloam" and "Bethel" for similarly afflicted men and boys, "Compassion" and "Mercy" respectively for aged governesses and school mistresses, "The Retreat" for old men and women and worn out servants.

In 1871 Pastor Robin of the Reformed Church, Paris, instituted a work for discharged convicts, analogous to the Prison Association of America, through the agency of which in less than ten years the number of Protestant recidivists had diminished by two-thirds.

To this improvement the Temporary Home for Working Men opened in 1880, designed for strangers coming to Paris to look for work and for ex-convicts, greatly contributed.

A child saving work was begun by Pastor Robin in 1872 which in 1874 developed into an Industrial School and in 1878 into a Society for the Education and Protection of Wayward Protestant Children, with a school largely supported by contributions of the children of the churches. The entire country is covered by a network of similar activities.

The Agricultural and Industrial Colony of Ste. Foy founded in 1842, for children in moral danger, reclaims wayward boys and prepares them for a life of usefulness. Nearly all are trained to farming, though a few are taught out-of-doors trades.

The "Children's House" (Maison des Enfants), founded in 1875 by Mlle. Lydie Hocart, daughter of Pastor Hocart of the

Methodist Church, has in later years developed by the addition of a Home for Boys at Gault-la-Forêt in 1893, a Convalescent Home in 1904, and a "Nest" for Babies in 1905, all in the same village. In 1896 a Prix Monthyon of 1,500 francs was awarded to Mlle. Hocart by the French Academy. Many youths have gone into the army from the Home for Boys; of these seven had died or were missing by 1917.

## Belgian Protestant Works of Benevolence and Education

**Works of Philanthropy.** 1. Protestant Orphanage at Uccle, near Brussels, established in 1866. 2. Home for Aged People, in Brussels. 3. Clinic of The Netherland Church of Brussels. 4. Deaconess Work of the Mission Church near Mons. 5. Deaconesses of the Borinage, in the district of Mons. 6. House of Refuge, rescue home for girls. Unsectarian, but organized at the initiative of Protestant ladies. It has a very fine new building in Brussels.[1]

**Temperance Societies.**[2] For thirty years the initiative

[1] The charitable activity of the churches is chiefly that of medical missions. A few years before the war a hospital was established at Liége; wounded soldiers have been nursed there and later many civilians without distinction of creed. At Brussels, Namur, in the district of Mons, etc., Protestant deaconesses in clinics and in homes have helped many thousands of sufferers, few of whom belonged to Protestant congregations. In some industrial regions, the Protestant clinics were the only places where the poor could be nursed free of charge. Abandoned war orphans are sent to Uccle, which has the only Protestant orphanage in Belgium.

[2] The Blue Cross Society established about 1886, requires from its members a pledge of total abstinence. The Blue Star Society founded in 1897, counted 2,000 members in 1914. It requires total abstinence from alcoholic liquors but permits the moderate use of the light native beers. This concession was due to the poor drinking water in the industrial districts.

in direct rescue and temperance work has come from Protestants. Only recently the Roman Catholic Church began to fight alcoholism through Cardinal Mercier; M. E. Vandervelde is now carrying on this work for the socialists.

**Social Enterprises.** Social activities offer a wide field for Protestant influence. Lack of capital has been the chief difficulty. We note:

1. The Cooperative Bakery of the Flemish Church at Leaken, near Brussels, the profits of which are allotted to evangelistic and social work. 2. The Protestant Old Age Pension and Mutual Society, organized in Brussels, with a similar society among coal miners in the district of Mons. 3. A Fraternity, at Verviers, organized by Rev. Lebeau for the moral and spiritual uplift of young people. 4. Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, generally connected with a church or mission station. In large cities, like Antwerp and Brussels, there is a Central Young Men's Christian Association. The Young Women's Christian Associations are not so well organized, but in large cities, as well as in the industrial districts, there is a very urgent need of Christian work among girls. 5. Boys' Brigades, organized by the Young Men's Christian Association, for boys under sixteen.

**Sunday Schools.** Each church or mission has a Sunday School and very often a Thursday School, with courses of religious instruction for the young people. The Belgian Sunday School Association has been represented in the International Sunday School Congresses. Before 1880 and the establishment of neutral state schools, each mission station had its day school, of which only a few remain.

**Printing Presses and Publications.** The Belgian Missionary Church has a well equipped printing shop at

Nessonvaux, near Liége, and a Protestant bookstore at Brussels. The Flemish Home Missionary Committee of the Established Church has a fine printing shop at Leaken, Brussels. A Pastoral Committee, elected at Charleroi in June, 1918, is preparing pamphlets and booklets to spread among the intellectual classes a better knowledge of Protestantism. As a result of the war there are now splendid openings among the intellectuals.

## II

## ITS INFLUENCE IN THE LIFE OF THE NATION

Fully to appreciate the influence of French Protestantism, it is necessary to take into account the relative proportion of Protestants to the whole population of France, one in about sixty; and the fact that this particular influence has been chiefly felt within the last hundred years.

While in the sixteenth century, in the reign of Henri IV, the Evangelical Church had struck deep roots in the soil of the country, and Reformed congregations could be counted by the hundred and even the thousand, while in more than four hundred towns and villages the mass had entirely ceased to be celebrated and had been replaced by Protestant worship, yet by the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day (1572), by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685), and by persecutions preceding and following, the Protestant cause was brought to the verge of destruction. When, in 1787, on the eve of the great Revolution, the Edict of Toleration, granted by Louis XVI, gave the Huguenots liberty to serve God according to their conscience, their church was totally disorganized and its numbers reduced to a mere handful. In the whole of France there could be found only forty-

eight pastors and one hundred and fifty parishes, more than half of which were vacant.

Since then, a wonderful reconstruction of the old Huguenot Church has taken place. About eight hundred congregations have been formed, all over the country, and Protestants, by reason of their superior education and training, have wielded an influence vastly greater than might have been expected from their numbers.

Politically, their influence has been marked. From the beginning, under the old régime, Protestants were accused of being democrats, or republicans; and it cannot be gainsaid that in the sixteenth century, Hotman and Hubert Languet were the first to lay down the theory of democratic government. Another Huguenot, the preacher and professor, Jurieu (1637-1713), a refugee in Holland, expounded, in opposition to autocracy, the right of the people to govern themselves. The influence of Protestant thought on the framing of the great principles of the French Revolution (1789) is undeniable, and has been frequently emphasized by historians such as Michelet and Quinet. Logically, the descendants of the persecuted Huguenots of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries could not fail to be defenders of liberty and of the rights of man.

As a consequence, it is not surprising to find among Protestants such men as Necker, under Louis XVI, Rabaut St. Etienne and Jean Bon St. André at the time of the Revolution,[1] Benjamin Constant at the time of

[1] The writings of J. J. Rousseau, of Protestant ancestry, very notably prepared the way for democracy and for the Revolution of 1789.

the Restoration (1819-30), Guizot, for many years Premier under Louis Philippe (1830-48), and Senator Edmond de Pressensé during the reign of Napoleon III (1852-70), all at the forefront of State affairs or of the battle for liberation and democratic control.

Under the Third Republic (1871), their influence was bound to increase, and though the bulk of Protestant suffrage is not large, their representatives have always been numerous both in the Cabinets of their time and in the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. In the Ministry formed by Waddington there was, it is said, a majority of Protestants. Among the men best known in politics we may mention, besides Senators E. de Pressensé and Waddington already named, Jules Grosjean and a number of the Deputies from Alsace and Lorraine, who in the National Assembly at Bordeaux, March 1, 1871, read the Protest against the violent and unjust annexation of these provinces to Germany; Léon Say, the great financier; de Freycinet, the organizer of the National Defense against the Germans (1871), who is still living, and more recently Jules Siegfried, Sibille, Réveillaud, Réville, Doumergue, Bourély, etc.

In the domain of law, Protestants hold a large place. It has been calculated, for instance, that among 3,000 magistrates there are nearly 200 Protestants, and in the Court of Accounts, in the Highest Court of Appeals, in the State Council, Protestants are as one to three.

In the domain of education, the work of the Protestants has been preponderant. The Dictionary of Pedagogy, the manual of the teaching staff in France, says: "The idea of the popular school, that is, of an institution in which the children of all classes of society should receive

together the benefits of education, could only spring up in the soil of Protestantism."

And so it was. The great leaders of the French Reformation had given the utmost care to providing schools and colleges with every church. The first law on public education was drawn up in 1833 by Guizot, a Protestant, and it is permeated with Protestant principles. Protestants also were Samuel Vincent and Athanase Coquerel, who were the first to demand a national system of public and compulsory education. And when, under the leadership of Jules Ferry, that system was carried out, in the teeth of a tremendous opposition from the clerical party (1880-86), the foremost protagonists in the enterprise were again Protestants: Ferdinand Buisson, Felix Pécaut and Jules Steeg, a pastor who later became Minister of Public Instruction. These were prominent in the execution of the Ferry Law which in 1882 removed the educational system from priestly control.

It was not from any undue partiality, but because Protestant methods of education had better fitted its adherents for the important duties connected with the education and training of the children of France, that most of the important functionaries of the Ministry of Education interested with carrying out the new laws were Protestants. The directors of higher, secondary and primary education were all Protestants. The Inspector general of boys' schools was the former Protestant pastor, Jules Steeg. The Inspector general of girls' schools was the Protestant Mlle. Kergomard. The principals of many of the normal schools were Protestants, and a great number of teachers of primary as well as secondary schools, both in France and in the colonies,

were Protestants for the simple reason that only they could pass the required examinations, the Catholic schools not having qualified their students for these tests. The disproportion is now not so great, though to some extent it still exists.

The new law having positively forbidden religious instruction to be given in the schools, the government took steps never before taken by any government to procure text books of moral instruction adapted to children and youth of every age, and succeeded to a degree that amazes those who carefully look through the books put forth, so high is their literary merit, so lofty their principles and so practical their methods, all morality being based upon the existence and moral character of God. The three men already named, who were then at the head of the educational system, well understood the importance of the religious factor in individual and social life, as a basis for morals and a motive for right living.

In the realms of science, literature and art, the names of Wurtz from Strassburg, a noted chemist, with the physicist Curie, the naturalists Cuvier, de Quatrefages, Friedel, the historians Guizot, Sismondi, Merle d'Aubigné, Gabriel Monod, the literary critics Vinet and Edmond Schérer, the theologians Reuss and Auguste Sabatier, the preachers Adolphe Monod and Bersier, the artists Bartholomé and Bartholdi, the designer of the giant Statue of Liberty in the harbor of New York; the authors Madame de Stael and Benjamin Constant in the earlier part of the last century, with writers such as Charles Gide, professor of political economy in the Collège de France; Boutmy, E. Doumergue, Bonet-Maury, the two Stapfers, Weiss, André Michel, one of the fore-

most art critics of to-day, Charles Wagner, writer and preacher, who died in 1918, are known the world over for their remarkable achievements; while such men as Admiral Duquesne, Admiral Ver-Huell and Admiral Jauréguiberry, General de Chabaud-Latour and Colonel Denfert-Rochereau, the heroic defenders of Paris and Belfort during the sieges of 1870-71, have earned the esteem even of their adversaries.[1]

The influence of Protestants was marked and very admirable at the time when the separation law was under consideration. Certain of its provisions, which the government deemed essential to safeguard republican institutions and principles from the encroachments of the Catholic Church—notoriously hostile to the measure and openly defying it—bore heavily upon the Protestant churches from which the State needed no protection. With the utmost good faith Protestants everywhere recognized and submitted to this necessity, Protestant deputies and Senators even pointing out certain points where the law placed unnecessary restrictions upon Catholics.

In 1802 no Protestant religious literature existed in France—not even Bibles. Since 1818 the Bible Societies have distributed nearly 15,000,000 Bibles and New Testaments. The publications of the Religious Tract Society

[1] An important contribution of French Protestantism to historical science has been made by Professor Jean Charlemagne Bracq of Vassar College in his work, "France Under the Republic." It furnishes a complete refutation of the theory of races as the ultimate determinants of religion, and shows how untenable is the assertion that Germanic nations are naturally Protestant and Celtic peoples Catholic. The body of anthropology has established the fact that those districts in France where Protestants are most numerous are not Germanic, and that the most important Germanic element in the nation is Catholic.

have generally maintained a high literary level. The Protestant Publication Society circulates books of healthy moral tone which meet a popular want. Never has a small religious body made a greater use of the press. Four Protestant reviews possess real value, *La Revue Chrétienne, La Revue de Théologie, La Revue du Christianisme Social* and *Foi et Vie.* The Society of the History of French Protestantism publishes a review of unique interest in its special field, and has displayed great energy in collecting and publishing documents of historic worth. Many books of literary power have been produced by Protestants—Edouard Reuss' monumental work *La Bible,* the *Encyclopédie des Sciences religieuses,* to which the best of Protestant thinkers have contributed, the historical and philosophical works of de Pressensé, Auguste Sabatier and other theologians and literary men. Arvède Barine, Mme. Coignet, Mme. de Pressensé, Mme. Bersier, and an increasing number of other women writers have produced works as broad in human sympathy as they are loyal to Protestant ideals.

But it is perhaps in the domain of economics, of social and moral reform, that the Huguenots of France have left the deepest mark on the life of their people. When Napoleon I, after the turmoil of the Revolution, reorganized the industrial and commercial life of the nation, he found his best coadjutors among the Protestant manufacturers and bankers, such as Oberkampf, Mallet, Hottinguer, Delessert, Bartholdi; and to this day the Protestant banking establishments are second to none in the capital, while in the whole country Protestant engineers and manufacturers, Peugeot, Japy, etc., are among the most progressive and successful. All the

heads of Alsatian industry, Koechlin, Dollfus, Schlumberger, Hartmann, Thierry-Mieg, etc., are Protestants.

These men did not strive simply to enrich themselves or to bring only material benefit to the country; they have introduced the moral factor into the handling of material wealth, so that one can say that they have been the real initiators of social reforms in France.

A Huguenot was the first, in the early years of the last century, to lift up his voice against the slave trade, Baron de Stael. A Huguenot was the founder of savings banks, Delessert. Sons of Huguenots are the apostles of cooperation, Gide and de Boyve; of the profit sharing of workmen with employers, Charles Robert; of Sunday rest, Charles W. Waddington. Sons of Huguenots again are those who have endeavored, by legislation and private enterprise, to better the condition of women and children in the factories, of the homes of the poor and of prisoners in jail: Richard Waddington, Jules Siegfried, Pastors Arboux and Robin.

It was a Protestant too, himself blind, J. Koechlin, who in Illsach (Alsace) founded the first asylum for the blind; it was a noble Protestant woman, Madame Jules Mallet, who established the first infant schools; and the famous homes for idiots, epileptics, etc., organized by Pastor John Bost at Laforce, were the first of the kind on the continent of Europe. (See page 88.)

In all these benevolent institutions, as well as in those for the care of apprentices, orphans, deaf and dumb, the physically and morally degenerate, the Huguenots have shown themselves ardent initiators and successful organizers, and to them is due the world-wide organization of Friends of the Young Girl, as well as the intro-

duction into France of the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, homes for working men and girls, fresh air funds, the Boy Scout movement and other social efforts imitated later by the Roman Catholics.

The fight against the social evil and immoral literature, against the drink traffic, and in favor of temperance reform, and for the observance of the Lord's Day, has been so much in the hands of the Huguenot churches that these reforms are generally considered as a special sphere of Protestant effort, and dependent upon their energy for success.

The Blue Cross (Temperance) Society with its Band of Hope (*Espoir*) covering nearly the whole country, is in fact a work of threefold influence, patriotic and religious as well as moral. In regions such as parts of Normandy, where liquor used to be given to infants as a substitute for milk, and children came weak and listless to school, having had nothing but liquor for breakfast; in towns such as Aniche near Lille, a place of 8,500 inhabitants, chiefly miners and glass blowers, which before the Blue Cross began its work had 42 breweries and 446 places where liquor could be bought, patriotism cried as importunately as religion for a work of temperance. Few are the Protestant churches which have not their sections of the Blue Cross. An unprecedented tribute to the value of the movement was given in 1913 when the *Bourse de Travail* (Labor Exchange) of Nimes gave to the Blue Cross Society of that city the free use of its large public hall, with authority to carry on its meetings according to its custom, with prayers and the singing of hymns.

The Young Men's Christian Association, founded in London in 1844, was introduced into France in 1851. It rapidly took hold of the churches; in 1859 when the work became national there were 79 Associations, in 1892 there were 95.

The Young Women's Christian Association was of much later date, young girls being allowed less initiative in the last than in the present century. The National Committee was formed in 1884. Both of these societies are much more closely connected with the churches than in other countries. Very many churches have their own Association distinct from yet forming a part of the general body.

The International Union of Friends of the Young Girl grew out of a method for the protection of young girls begun by a Protestant woman in 1878. She worked alone for twenty-three years, when the plan was taken up by Mrs. Josephine Butler and developed into an international movement.

Protestant women had begun before the war to associate themselves in patriotic causes with those not of their belief. They have a most prominent part in the *Société de Secours aux blessés militaires,* the *Union des Femmes de France* and the *Association des dames françaises,* which three organizations constitute the French Red Cross (*La Croix Rouge française*). The President of the National Council of French Women, open to women of all beliefs, is a Protestant, Mme. Jules Siegfried. The work of this society since the outbreak of the present war is beyond all praise. As Protestants, with Mme. Siegfried, may be mentioned Mme. d'Abbadie d'Arrast, Vice President of the National

Council of French Women, Mlle. Lucile Morin, President of the National Committee of the International Young Women's Christian Association. These three women are honorary presidents of the Christian Syndicates of Working Women, founded about 1912, whose president is Mlle. Marie Bruneton, president of the Paris Y. W. C. A. and one of whose vice-presidents is Mlle. Savary, one of the most efficient women workers in the McAll Mission. Sixteen women bearing names honored among French Protestants form the Board of Managers of an organization which has many features of our Consumers' League, with others of larger economic import, and all regulated by avowedly religious principles.

The Boy Scout movement was introduced into France by Pastor Georges Gallienne of the McAll Mission (since the war a chaplain in the navy), as a means of training the till then untamable Apaches, who frequented his out-station in the Javel quarter. His plan worked like a charm upon the Apaches of Javel: the idea was taken up throughout the McAll work, the religious character being always maintained, was adopted by the Young Men's Christian Association, nearly all its Juniors being organized as *Éclaireurs* (Scouts), and was introduced into the public schools. The government, quick to recognize its importance, set the seal of approval upon the movement by appointing a retired army officer, General Amboix de Larbont, to be Chief Scout Master, and by inviting the Scouts to a festival in the Park of the *Invalides,* the State Hotel for old soldiers. The change wrought in the character and conduct of the boys of French city streets has been remarkable, and the services rendered by the little fellows during the war speak

Ruined Protestant Church near Château-Thierry.

volumes both for them and for the value of the movement.

General de Berckheim, who is Director of the Boy Scout Movement of the government, is also a well-known Protestant layman. During his visit to France in 1918, the Rev. Charles S. Macfarland served as a Commissioner of the Boy Scouts of America, and was the means of getting under way important plans for deepening the relationship between these movements in the two countries. He presented these plans in his report to the National Council of the Boy Scouts of America, of which he is a National Scout Commissioner.

The "Commission for Protestant Evangelical Activity in the Social and Moral Field" was reappointed in 1909 by the Federation of French Protestantism, and at once entered upon a large work, its executive officers being Professor Maury, president, and Colonel d'Adhemar, vice-president, Pastor Freddy Durrleman, treasurer, Pastor Leon Peyric, field secretary, and Professor de Boeck, secretary,—all noted names in present day French Protestantism.

The great Protestant Congresses held by the French Protestant Federation for the discussion of religious, moral and social questions receive great attention from the political press and continually present Protestantism to the public mind as a great and unified power for the good of the nation. As Pastor Decoppet of the great Church of the Oratoire said, "Yes, we are brothers, the Protestant family exists." This spiritual union has always so impressed the general public that the divisions of Protestantism are hardly noticed by it.

## Social Christianity

The enforced limitations and the persecutions of French Protestants tended naturally to make the Reformed Church a somewhat narrow and self-centered body. But with the first promise of religious freedom, after 1878, a wonderful broadening of interest was shown by the creation of societies such as that for the Practical Study of Social Questions and others for analagous purposes. Since the Separation this impulse has taken on new strength and has tended even to an internationalization of social interest. The Congress of Social Christianity held in Besançon in 1908, and especially that held in St. Quentin in 1911, at which the world famed economist Charles Gide was the presiding officer, showed how broad is the conception of Christian duty held by these French Protestants, including as it does nothing less than the Christianization of all social relations. These meetings and the work carried on during the intervening years, especially that of the Fraternities, which brought the Protestant young men of France into close relations with the English Brotherhoods, were unwittingly preparing France for the ordeal which she has so nobly undergone during the past four years. Naturally these enterprises have been initiated and carried on chiefly by the younger pastors and laymen, but such utterances as the following by two of the most venerable and revered pastors of French Protestantism, show the universal approbation. Pastor Benjamin Couve writes:

Within thirty years our Protestantism has flowered out in works which have already borne fruit and promise more. Doubtless our churches did not wait for the twentieth century to do social works . . . but the fraternities, the solidarities and like works, attest a renewal of social interest and bear a mark that is entirely modern."

To the question, "If fraternities are founded everywhere, what will become of the churches?" Pastor Babut replied:

No doubt they will become more living, stronger, more prosperous, for their real enemy is spiritual slumber, and the multiplication of fraternities is already the beginning of a revival. . . . You ask, 'Should the movement be suspected, as tainted with socialism?' To be sure it is a *social* Christian movement, but that is to a great degree the secret of its strength, its principal attraction among the people of the large cities. . . . It is above all things the proclamation of moral and social principles on which nearly all Christians now agree. . . . The very collaboration which we pastors need today, and without which we feel our ministry powerless, will be brought to us by the fraternities.

Pastor Babut touches upon a doubt which has troubled more than one mind, a doubt raised by the name adopted by the leaders of the movement: "Social Christianity." This name, however, by laying the emphasis on "Christianity," fundamentally distinguishes its adherents from the Christian Socialists of Belgium and England, and still more widely from political Socialists. "Between us and them is God," said in 1901 Pastor Élie Gounelle, founder with Pastor Wilfred Monod of the movement in 1898. Borrowing from England the idea of the "Pleasant Sunday Afternoon" Brotherhoods, they enlarged it to include all human relations in the domain of Christian fraternity. Their "solidarities" and brotherhoods are differentiated from the social settlements of England and

America in three important particulars: their members do not live in common, or in the *Foyers, Fraternités,* or *Solidarités,*[1] by which names the neighborhood houses are variously known; they include every variety of "social, moral and religious activity," and in particular each such settlement is distinctly attached to a church or mission station, an innovation which in more recent years is being adopted by many a church in England and America.

The Thursday School, which was devised by Dr. Robert W. McAll partly to introduce a social element into the lives of children of the street, but chiefly as an additional means of giving religious instruction, was adopted by Protestant and later by Roman Catholic Churches, especially since the secularization of the public schools (Thursday being the school holiday in France).

While Oberlin was the precursor, the immediate inspiration of the Social Christian movement in the last years of the nineteenth century was the ever revered and lamented Pastor Tomy Fallot, President of the "Abolition Federation," of the "French League for the Elevation of Public Morality," founder of the "Fraternal Society," and first president of the "Protestant Association for the Practical Study of Social Questions," who died in 1904, but who being dead yet speaketh.

One of the most important manifestations of Social Christianity is the *Foi et Vie* (Faith and Life) movement, founded in 1898 by M. Paul Doumergue and a

[1] The first solidarity was founded in connection with the McAll Mission station in Roubaix where M. Gounelle was at that time both pastor of the church and director of the McAll Mission station. Pastor Wilfred Monod soon after followed the example in Rouen, and Pastor Henri Nick in Lille. By degrees they sprang up in many parts of France, from the North to Alais and St. Jean du Gard in the old Cevennes region.

large group of influential Protestants and addressed, not to the working classes or to the poor but to the intellectual people of France. Its chief activity is the founding of lecture courses and study classes on social questions considered from the Christian point of view; in which work it has the cooperation of the most eminent public speakers of France, Academicians and government officials of kindred minds sharing its platform with the more prominent professors and pastors of the nation. Its periodical, the fortnightly review, *Foi et Vie,* brings important discussions of social and philosophical questions to the attention of the general reading public.[1]

The Academician Émile Faguet, who has died since the outbreak of the war, not a Protestant but an impartial critic, said, "French Protestants . . . have been the salt of France . . . Protestantism has deserved well of France . . . Add to this that the Protestants were the first French Republicans."

"What great ancestors were those Huguenots!" wrote the Academician M. Lavisse to Prof. John Viénot after his book *Les Défenseurs de la Souveraineté du Peuple* appeared.

That large proportion of the French population (gen-

[1] "We have tried," writes M. Paul Doumergue, "to create a center of Christian culture in France; not a denominational center, which would make our field very narrow, but a center of Christian spirit. For this purpose we have founded: 1. a Review called *Foi et Vie,* 2. A publishing house known as The General Protestant Publishing House (*La Libraire Générale et Protestante*), 3. *Le Journal du Soldat* (The Soldier's Journal), 4. Lectures by Professors of the Sorbonne." These lectures chiefly deal with questions of democracy as related to history and religion. Since the early months of the war the publishing house has issued a weekly series of well printed tracts entitled "Gospel Meditations."

erally estimated as eighty per cent) who before the present war never set foot in any church, were far from indifferent to religious problems. As Professor J. C. Bracq writes, "any able religious speaker will find hearers outside of the churches more easily than in America." In the early part of 1907 the *Mercure de France* organized a vast inquiry, asking eminent men, "Are we witnessing a dissolution or an evolution of religious thought?" to which the overwhelming majority replied, "a religious evolution"—an answer which the present war has strikingly confirmed.

Religiously, socially and economically, then, France owes far more to the Protestants, especially since the establishment of the Third Republic, than their small numbers would promise. But as Matthew Arnold reminded us, it is always by minorities that nations are saved. A small group of Protestants in the midst of a free-thinking or a Catholic population tends to destroy bigotry and prejudice, to create a desire for the truth, and even to bring to Christ some who perhaps will never unite with any church, yet will spread the leavening influence.

## III

## ITS INFLUENCE ABROAD

More than any other nation in the world, France through her entire history has known how to look beyond her frontiers and sympathize with all great liberating movements. Her cooperation in the war of the American Revolution, in the liberation of the Greeks from the Turkish yoke, in the establishment of Italian Unity, are typical examples. This perception of mankind, this genius of the universal, highly conspicuous in France, has found its loftiest expression in missionary activity. In the great movement of Roman Catholic missions, France, among all the nations which maintained their connection with the Holy See, always held the first rank. Even today, when France is believed to be largely a free-thinking country, the proportion of Catholic missionaries and the support given by French Catholics to the cause of missions is incomparably larger than in any avowedly Roman Catholic nation.

Impartial travelers easily discover that in Africa, in Asia, in Oceania, in the Levant as well as in the Far-East, France represents Roman Catholic Christianity in a far more effective manner than Spain, Italy or Austria. So far as Protestant Christianity is concerned, we recognize the same condition. The small Protestant group in France, numbering less than a million souls, heirs of a long past of suffering and persecution, is carrying on a

missionary work altogether disproportionate to its small numbers.

French Protestant missionary work is specifically undenominational. The Reformed, Lutheran, Free and Methodist Churches in France co-operate in the work of the Paris Evangelical [Foreign] Missionary Society. At the same time this work is international, sons of the French Reformation in Switzerland, Belgium and Italy (the Waldensian Valleys of Piedmont), taking their part in the work of the "Paris Society of Missions."

In its undenominational and international character French Protestantism has long put into practice the principle of church federation stressed by the Ecumenical Missionary Conference of Edinburgh.

The expenses of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society amount to nearly one million francs ($200,000). This society supports 181 missionaries in seven missionary fields,—Basutoland, Rhodesia, Madagascar, French Congo, Senegal, Tahiti, New Caledonia. The following schedule shows the progress and development of French Protestant missionary zeal during the last century.

| | 1852 | 1872 | 1892 | 1912 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mission fields | 1 | 3 | 6 | 7 |
| Stations | 11 | 14 | 25 | 63 |
| Out stations | .. | 59 | 141 | 432 |
| European missionaries (not including wives) | 18 | 21 | 43 | 119 |
| Native pastors | | 21 | 32 | 185 |
| " evangelists | .. | 57 | 114 | 302 |
| " teachers | .. | 49 | 176 | 567 |
| Schools | 10 | 45 | 159 | 387 |
| Pupils | 495 | 3,113 | 9,281 | 29,876 |
| Communicants | 1,459 | 5,034 | 10,257 | 36,889 |
| Expenses | $20,000 | 35,000 | 100,000 | 190,000 |

During the recent conflict, French Protestantism gave proof of its genuine missionary spirit by assuming the

burden of entering the Cameroon, taken from Germany by the Allied Forces, in order to save the remnants of the German missions, left to themselves after the expulsion of the missionaries. Four French missionaries are to-day supervising that work of rescue, while two others, by teaching French, now compulsory in every school, are helping the American Presbyterian Mission in South Cameroon.

## The Beginnings

The spirit of propaganda is in the very fibre of the French being. Whenever a truth of science, of politics, of economics, of religion, has lodged in the minds of Frenchmen, like the disciples who were scattered abroad after the stoning of Stephen, wherever they go, they go preaching. Thus it was in the second decade of the sixteenth century and the subsequent early years of the Reformation; thus in the second decade of the nineteenth century, in the dark days of the restoration of the Monarchy; "colporteur of ideas" France has ever been.

The Revival in the early years of the nineteenth century awakened interest in the salvation of those who knew not Christ. By 1820 small groups of Protestants were formed in Toulouse and other French cities, to pray for missions and report what they had learned about them, and to collect money, which they sent to the London or the Basle Society. Thus by 1822 the time was ripe for founding a missionary society of their own, and the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society came into being, all Protestant churches in France and French-speaking Switzerland joining in the Crusade. Later, as has been seen, the French speaking churches of the Walden-

sian Valleys, as well as many individuals in other countries, especially in Holland, Belgium, Great Britain, the United States and Canada, by contributions gave proof of their admiration of the courage and faith of the descendants of the Huguenots, who, poor in this world's goods and often hampered by the laws, had bravely taken up their share of the task of evangelizing the world.

A House of Missions was soon founded for the education of missionaries. Societies in other lands at once recognized the advantages offered in Paris for the necessary study, and students were sent from all Protestant countries. Several foreigners who became famous in missionary annals went forth from this school: among them Samuel Gobat, who went to Abyssinia and later became the first Protestant Bishop of Jerusalem, where a flourishing boys' school bears his name. The American, Jonas King, who had been a missionary in Palestine, taught Arabic in the Paris House of Missions and greatly moved American interest.

Such prominent men as Pastors Marron, Jean Monod and Boissard promoted the enterprise, with such writers and philanthropists as Auguste de Stael (son of the celebrated writer, Madame de Stael), Stapfer, Frederic Monod, Mark Wilks, Delessert, Admiral Ver-Huell, the historian Delaborde, Bartholdi and Waddington; several of these being strongly allied by friendship with foreign countries.

In 1825 a new era began. The society had been generously welcomed by Christians of other lands, and that year the income of the previous year was doubled. Of the eight French pupils in the school in 1825, only three

became foreign missionaries, but all became religious leaders. One of them, Élie Charlier, came to New York, founded a boys' school which was among the foremost of its time, and during his long life exerted a powerful influence for good.

In 1826 the Journal of Missions was founded and to this day it continues to create and foster missionary zeal. Interest in foreign missions grew rapidly in France. Many churches held monthly meetings for prayer for missions; societies of women were praying,—and this at a time when it was illegal for more than twenty persons to meet for any purpose without a special permit—subscription lists were opened, ardent young girls sold their jewelry for the cause, poor women subscribed a *liard* (one-fifth of a cent) per month, others a sou a day (the *Sou Missionnaire,* still an important source of income for the society).

The Admiral Count Ver-Huell having accepted the presidency of the society (which he held for 24 years) it was decided in 1829 to send three missionaries to South Africa, the government not permitting them to enter French Algeria. They went directly to the French Huguenot refugees who had settled at the Cape and to whom Africa owes much. Finding no other opening, they began to work among the Hottentot slaves of these Huguenots, there being already a small church of converted slaves.

### The Seven Mission Fields

1. **Basutoland (Lessuto).** In 1833 three missionary pioneers, Arbousset, Casalis and the artisan Gossellin, settled in Basutoland, after a fearful journey of 300

miles through a roadless region infested by lions, and inhabited by timorous and suspicious black men. Here they were welcomed as benefactors by the King of the Basutos, that remarkable African, Moshesh, whose mottoes, in the midst of bloodthirsty Africa, even before the Gospel had reached him, were "Peace is my sister," "Plenty is found in Peace." The Basuto love to learn; schools were opened in many places, the need of books in Sessuto soon created a demand for a printer and press, and these were sent from Paris. Soon the Gospels of St. Mark and St. John, already translated by the missionaries, were printed in Sessuto.

Pastors and evangelists have been raised up from the native population and are supported by the native churches. A well organized system of primary and secondary schools has been set up all through the country, 16,878 pupils being taught in 240 schools. The following are the educational institutions:

| | 1912 |
|---|---|
| Normal School (teachers) | 160 pupils |
| Theological Seminary (native pastors) | 7 students |
| Bible School (evangelists) | 47 " |
| Industrial School | 74 pupils |
| Girls' High School | 70 " |

STATISTICS

| | 1852 | 1872 | 1892 | 1912 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stations | 11 | 10 | 15 | 29 |
| Out stations | .. | 38 | 128 | 223 |
| European missionaries (not including wives) | 18 | 16 | 23 | 31 |
| Native pastors | .. | .. | 3 | 17 |
| Native evangelists and teachers | .. | 57 | 241 | 553 |
| Church members | 1,459 | 2,183 | 7,900 | 19,071 |
| Pupils | 495 | 2,069 | 7,869 | 16,878 |
| Native contributions ..... Fr. | .. | 6,100 | 34,700 | 115,100 |
| $ | .. | 1,220 | 6,940 | 23,020 |

Whereas many African tribes have been degraded and impoverished by the combined influences of their own heathenism and western civilization, the Basuto tribe, which originally numbered some 40,000 souls only, has become under the influence of the Gospel a great nation of 400,000. Soldiers from this mission did loyal service during the war.

**2. Senegal.** On the west coast of Africa, on the threshold of the Soudan, a small mission was established in 1853, which during more than fifty years has stood "like a patient sentinel on the watch." The Paris Missionary Society longs to extend the work in Senegal to the Mohammedans of the French Soudan, a region five times as large as France, which only French missionaries may enter. The Director of the Paris Society, M. Bianquis, visited Senegal in the winter of 1913-14 and on his return spoke eloquently of the greatness and beauty of the task in that country, in the hope that the Society might soon penetrate into the interior and reach some of the numerous peoples of the Niger, as yet little influenced by Islam.

**3. Tahiti.** In that same year, 1853, the Paris Society, in answer to an appeal from the London Missionary Society, which since 1820 had been working on the island, but had been obliged by the French Protectorate to abandon its work, sent a missionary to Tahiti. The Roman Catholic Church, taking advantage of the French annexation, was threatening the work begun by John Williams and developed by his successors. In spite of its limited means, the Paris Society has been enabled to help save the Protestant Church in Tahiti and in several other islands of the South Seas.

The first French missionary to arrive, M. Arbousset, in 1865, was heartily welcomed by Queen Pomaré IV. He established good relations with the native evangelists, and having been joined in 1867 by five French missionaries, in 1880 he organized the Church on the synodical system of the Reformed Church of France, the step being approved by the government. The work was extended to the Austral and the Windward Islands, and later to the far distant Gambier Islands.

In these islands, under the guidance of 10 French missionaries, assisted by 45 native pastors, a Church of 4,500 communicants exists whose annual contributions amounted in 1912 to nearly 60,000 fr. ($12,000).

| | 1872 | 1892 | 1912 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Stations | 3 | 3 | 4 |
| Out stations and native churches | .. | 12 | 12 |
| European missionaries (not including wives) | 3 | 4 | 11 |
| Native pastors | 20 | 19 | 45 |
| Native teachers | | | 9 |
| Church members | 2,430 | 2,037 | 4,333 |
| Pupils | 1,044 | 1,132 | 3,202 |
| Native contributions Fr. | .. | 18,150 | 59,000 |

4. **Zambezi.** Meanwhile, the Basuto Church having greatly developed, the native communities desired to start a mission work of their own. François Coillard, whose name is known in all missionary circles and who had long labored in Lessuto, went north accompanied by several native evangelists, looking for a mission field. After an heroic expedition to the Upper Zambezi, the difficulties of which have filled a volume of intense interest, he persuaded the Paris Society in 1885 to encourage the ambition of the Basuto Church and to send

both French missionaries and native evangelists to the country of King Lewanika.

After twenty-seven years of faithful pioneering, the Zambezi Mission is firmly established. Converts, in the strict sense of the word, are as yet but few; nevertheless, a wonderful transformation has taken place, as was evidenced by the changed life of King Lewanika. Though not a Christian himself, under the influence of the missionaries he banished the sale of alcohol, abolished slavery and human sacrifices, and largely encouraged Christian worship and missionary schools. His visit to France and Great Britain in 1913 created a sensation, and his death in 1917 awakened regret. His son and successor, Litia, though by no means so strong a character as his father, is an avowed Christian.

The life story of François Coillard is one of the most inspiring in the annals of missions. Told in French in three octavo volumes, it is accessible to far too few readers in foreign lands.

Born in 1834 in Berry, in the center of France, François Coillard's early life is a part of the history of nineteenth century French Protestantism. His widowed mother, a Revival Christian, endured many privations to keep him in school. The boy was much influenced by colporteurs, always welcome in his humble home, and happily, while still young he came under the pastoral care of Ami Bost, a man of lofty intellect and large piety, father of sons and daughters who became celebrated in French Protestant philanthropy and missions. Under this influence all that region became interested in missions, young Coillard among the others. His mother's poverty forced her to send him into service at the age of fifteen, but in 1851, hearing an appeal from the Missionary Society, he pledged himself to the work and managed with much self-sacrifice to go to school. He made wonderful progress and in 1854 was admitted to the

House of Missions. In 1857 he was sent to South Africa and met the Moffats, who told him that the motto of African Missions was "Patience, patience, patience." Of this his whole subsequent life of toil, pain, disappointments, imprisonment, checks and deliverances gave ample proof. After Livingston, he was the pioneer of Central Africa, and like Livingston he gave to it his life. He was the first to respond to the heroic determination of the Basutos to enter upon a foreign mission work of their own, and their perseverance during the many disappointments and large expenses attending his first exploring expedition of two years is an eloquent testimony to their evangelizing zeal. During the first experiment in Matabeleland his life was always in danger, and when months of hazardous endeavor, with imprisonment, resulted in his expulsion from the country, one Matabele left all to follow him, later becoming a successful schoolmaster and evangelist. At last, on the Zambezi, Coillard found the Sessuto-speaking Batoki and Barotsi—a great advantage for his Basuto evangelists—and there he succeeded in establishing a mission which, though baptized in "the waters of affliction," has changed the character of a vast region. He struggled long against the desire of French Protestants to abandon all but Colonial Missions. For years he literally agonized in prayer for King Lewanika, whom, with all his disappointing traits of character, he dearly loved. His beloved wife Christina died, worn out with toil and privation, and left him in the utter loneliness of the man who has only native helpers. After a visit to France in 1899 fourteen men and women followed him, and though the King was "always the same chameleon," he had the comfort of seeing the work expand. It was not given him to see the fruits of his labors, but he died as he had wished, in Zambezia, and sleeps beside his Christina. His will, a solemn challenge to French Protestants, runs thus:

"On the threshold of eternity and in the presence of my God, I solemnly bequeath to the Churches of France, my native land, the responsibility of the Lord's work in the Barotsi country, and adjure them, in his sacred name, never to give it up, for that would be to miss and renounce the rich harvest sure to spring up from seed that was sown in suffering and tears."

That harvest was already whitening when the war gave to his Zambezians an opportunity to prove to France the value of his teachings and his prayers.

**5. Maré and New Caledonia.** The rapid extension of the French colonial empire opened several new mission fields to the Paris Society.

In 1891, the London Society handed over to the French Society their mission in the island of Maré (Loyalty Islands); from Maré the Society in 1899 crossed over to New Caledonia, the "France of the Antipodes," where an admirable missionary work had been begun by native pastors from islands previously evangelized.

In New Caledonia and Maré missionary work assumes the form of a struggle against the vices of western civilization, which threaten the very existence of the native races. Here, as in South Africa, the Gospel has proved the only sure protection against these evils. In spite of all difficulties, the Church grows rapidly, and a small body of about 1,400 communicants contribute every year more than 10,000 francs ($2,000).

**6. French Congo.** While Stanley, acting as representative of King Leopold of Belgium, was preparing the foundation of the Congo Free State, a French naval officer, Savorgnan de Brazza, was peacefully conquering for his country a large part of the same Congo region. American missionaries had settled in Gaboon in 1842, and on the Ogowe River in 1874. After the French conquest, the American missionaries, meeting with many difficulties due to the fact that they were obliged to teach French in their schools, asked the Paris Society to take up at least a part of their work. In 1892-93 two sta-

tions, on the Ogowe River, were transferred by the Presbyterian Board to the Paris Society.

Since then the work on the Ogowe River has gone on steadily increasing: two new stations have been founded, and there are now more than 1,800 communicants. Much attention is devoted to agricultural and industrial training.

| | 1892 | 1902 | 1912 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Stations | 1 | 4 | 4 |
| Out stations | .. | 30 | 53 |
| French missionaries (not including wives) | 3 | 15 | 21 |
| Native evangelists and teachers | .. | 40 | 69 |
| Church members (communicants) | 150 | 1,000 | 1,702 |
| Pupils | 100 | 300 | 449 |

**7. Madagascar.** When this great island, with 15,000 Europeans and 3,000,000 native inhabitants, one-half of whom had come under the influence of the Gospel, was definitely conquered by France, a new and heavy duty was laid upon French Protestants. The London Missionary Society had begun in Madagascar one of the most wonderful missions of the nineteenth century. The story of the martyrs of the Malagasy Church is the living proof of the power of Christ for the redemption of the heathen. The London Missionary Society had been followed by the Friends' Foreign Missionary Association, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and by Norwegian Lutherans from Norway and from America, all of whom had met with great success.

The occupation of the Island by France soon appeared seriously to threaten the normal development of Protestantism. The Jesuits made great efforts to supplant the Protestant missionaries. Recognizing the danger,

the Paris Society, though already overtaxed by its work in six other mission fields, felt bound to do its best to save the situation. It took over a large part of the missionary work in Madagascar, thus proving to the natives that it is possible to be at one and the same time a loyal subject of France, and a faithful servant of the Gospel.

The task before it appeared to be threefold: 1, the restoration of Protestantism in the island; 2, the organization of the Malagasy churches; 3, the extension of French Malagasy churches. In all these it has admirably succeeded.

Though educational work has seriously suffered during the last few years through restrictive legislation, evangelistic work has extended, and the native church is being consolidated.

By the adoption of this mission the total budget of the Paris Society suddenly rose from frs. 480,500 ($96,100) in 1896, to frs. 700,000 ($140,000) in 1898.

The splendid conduct of Malagasy soldiers during the war has won much new sympathy for Protestant missions. At a touching service in a "temple" in Paris, in January, 1918, twenty Malagasy soldiers were baptized and several afterwards made addresses in French full of patriotism. The majority of these soldiers were Protestants, and in the "huts" the singing of Protestant hymns in their own language was an interesting feature. In January, 1918, several groups of Malagasy soldiers sent contributions for the war orphans of France.

To sum up in brief space the benefits, direct and indirect, of French Protestant missions is a difficult task. The pacification of vast regions formerly given over to wars, murders and cruelty, the forbidding of liquor sell-

ing, obedience to law, a high level of education, literate women, trained evangelists,—all these speak of the civilizing effects of French missions. "North Africa is fast becoming Black France," writes a Frenchman who from America has penetratingly studied his native country. "The Basuto mission is one of the most perfect missionary triumphs in the world. . . . French missionaries have cultivated the heroic spirit to an unusual degree. . . . Their missions are their most perfect work and the most praiseworthy display of their energy. They have refrained from all non-religious entanglements and have refused to be the political instruments of any government. When the first French missionaries entered Basotuland in South Africa the valley was strewn with human bones, there were few cattle, many wild beasts, and natives practiced shockingly cruel pagan customs: now Lessuto is a civilized country with prosperous towns, many church members, the church supporting an important foreign mission, and paganism confessing itself conquered."

### In the World at Large

The principles of modern democracy formulated by John Calvin were carried from Geneva to Scotland and England by John Knox and by the Anglo-Scottish Church, the first English-speaking Puritan Church, which had been constituted and sheltered in Geneva in the years 1555-59.

Nearly all the religious and political pamphlets which set forth and summed up Puritan ideas in Scotland and in England were written in Geneva and printed by friends of Calvin, particularly by Jean Crespin.

The political treatise which may be called the code of Anglo-Saxon and Puritan democracy is the work of Goodman, printed by Jean Crespin (1558), the substance of which Calvin approved with a few reservations as to its wording.

The Geneva Bible (1560),—the famous Puritan Bible,—the first text-book of Civil and Ecclesiastical Laws and Regulations (1562), the Guide of the First Fifty Puritans of America (1630)—the three books which composed the whole religious, legislative and political library of the Puritans of Great Britain and America—bear on their first pages, as the printer's mark, the arms and the motto of Geneva; "Post Tenebras Lux." Well does the French Reformer of Geneva deserve the name of "the Father of Democracy."

The epoch at which French Protestantism spread its influence most widely was at the time called *Le Refuge* (1685) when persecuted Huguenots fled to Switzerland, Germany, Holland, England and the American continent, bringing with them not only their arts and trades but their love of liberty, their faith, their language and their literature. French Huguenot churches, founded at that time, are to be found to this day in Frankfort, Friederichsdorf, The Hague, Amsterdam, London, Canterbury, and in the United States.

The Huguenot Emigration changed the character of the continent of Europe; its influence was felt in Africa and the two Americas; it was a mighty wave that overspread the earth. Unlike emigrations for the sake of conquest, it brought blessings wherever it went. The Huguenots fled mainly to four countries: Switzerland, the Netherlands, England and Germany. From these countries,

especially from Holland and England, they came to America.

**Switzerland,** which has always been and is to-day the asylum for the oppressed, received perhaps the largest number of Huguenot refugees. Geneva, with Calvin, Farel and Beza, became the great center of the French Reformation, the light on the mountain. The 100,000 or more Huguenots who took refuge in Switzerland became her best citizens; they brought new industries, especially jewelers' and watchmakers' crafts, and silk manufactures.

**The Netherlands.** The Huguenots of northern and northeastern France found it easier to escape to the Low Countries, across Flanders. One month after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes there were 5,000 refugees in Rotterdam. Prince William of Orange, the descendant of William the Silent, and of Coligny, formed a league of Protestant nations against France. Holland raised large sums of money for the refugees. Even the Jews, thankful for having found a place of religious liberty in Holland, gave twenty thousand dollars for the Huguenots. At Harlem, Roman Catholic Spaniards and Portuguese contributed fourteen hundred dollars to the fund. Some of the greatest pulpit orators and the greatest warriors of France went to Holland. The country blossomed with manufactures built up by the refugees. As the result France saw Holland become the leading naval power of that day.

**England.** Here the influence of the Huguenots was deep and lasting. In Bristol and Norwich stand Huguenot churches, now unused; in London one still used is very prosperous. In the Crypt of Canterbury Cathedral

French services, inaugurated at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, have not been discontinued to this day. The number of industries introduced into England by Huguenots, and today largely contributing to its wealth, is almost beyond counting.

**Germany.** Hither also fled the Huguenots in great numbers. Seven days after King Louis XIV of France issued his decree against the Huguenots, the Great Elector of Brandenburg published his decree inviting all to come to his land; and 20,000 came. They brought new trades and built up whole cities or districts, as at Berlin, Halle and Magdeburg. Other German States followed the example of the Great Elector, notably Hesse Cassel. As a result industries blossomed everywhere. The Huguenots introduced silk and linen weaving, the making of silk and woolen stockings, hats and gloves; they founded tanneries, and excelled in the smith, cutlery and jewelry trades. By their knowledge of mining, they diverted the copper trade from Sweden and the iron trade from France. They helped to lay the foundations of modern Germany. Some of the most competent officers today in the German Army are descended from these exiled Huguenots. In the town of Friedrichsdorf the archaic French tongue of the seventeenth century is still spoken; the customs of the French are preserved and the French Protestant liturgy is used in the church.

**Other Countries.** The Huguenots also fled to Denmark, Sweden and Russia, where Huguenot colonies were formed in Moscow and in the new capital, now Petrograd, and a small agricultural and mercantile colony settled on the banks of the Volga. There, well into the

nineteenth century, the complete costume of the time of Louis XIV was worn, even to the voluminous wig, and the classic French of that day was spoken. They fled to other continents: to India, to Cape Colony, to North and South America.

**America.** Two Huguenot settlements in the New World were made in the sixteenth century. The first was at Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) in 1555. The first Protestant service held in America was held there on May 10, 1557, by the Rev. Mr. Richier. This colony was destroyed a few years later by the Portuguese, but it had the honor of being the first Protestant Foreign Mission and of furnishing the first martyrs of Protestant missions. The second Huguenot settlement was in Florida under John Ribaut in 1562; it was destroyed by Menendez and the Spaniards in 1565, but recent researches give reason to believe that a few of its members survived, descendants of whom have been men honored in the history of the United States.

In 1604, the first colony in Canada was led by Pierre De Monts, a Huguenot who settled at what is now Annapolis in Nova Scotia. Later, Huguenots were not permitted to settle in Canada, and a number of them moved to the Far West.

Much has been written on the Huguenot settlements at Boston, at Oxford (Mass.), in Rhode Island, at New Rochelle and New York. In 1677, a congregation was organized at New Paltz in the Catskills. In 1687 a Huguenot church was founded in Charleston (S. C.), the climate being favorable for grape and silk culture. A thousand Huguenots came there from Holland and six hundred from England. They took up 360 acres of land

and founded the French town of Jamestown in the Carolinas.

Many Huguenots came to Pennsylvania from the Palatinate; fleeing before the invasion of the armies of Louis XIV, when 1,200 villages were ravaged and burnt in midwinter. Fearing to be recognized by the French, many destroyed their family papers and had their French names translated into German; and thus many of the "Pennsylvania Dutch" are really of Huguenot and French descent.

Professor Charles Weiss wrote thus of the influence of the Huguenot refugees in foreign lands: "They were destined, above all in America, to temper the fanaticisms of the Puritans and fecundate the germs and favour the triumph of that spirit of independence regulated by law, of which the United States to-day offers the magnificent results. . . . They have enriched many countries by improving their manufactures, by endowing them with new branches of industry, by stimulating their commercial activity and by introducing into them the superior modes of French agriculture. . . . They have set an example of urbanity in social relations, politeness in language, severity in morals, and inexhaustible charity in their intercourse with the suffering classes."

The influence of French Protestantism upon the world has been cogently expressed in the address of Dr. John R. Mott at the Annual Convention of the American McAll Association, held in Buffalo, N. Y., in 1913:

> We have Protestantism in France and it is a type of Protestantism of which we are not ashamed and for which we shall never apologize. . . . I know of no Protestant Church in

Europe or America which in proportion to its membership and its wealth is conducting a more splendid piece of foreign missionary work than the Protestant Church in France. It is simply wonderful and almost unbelievable.

My work has taken me repeatedly to the other Latin countries of Europe, such as Spain, Portugal, Italy and the Latin section of Belgium and of Switzerland, and I have been amazed to find that thoughtful people as well as the masses are influenced more profoundly by what takes place in and through France than by what takes place in and through any other country in the world. My experiences in Russia have shown me that France holds a position of influence absolutely unique among the great masses of that people.

Moreover, when I think of the strategy of work for France, I think of something besides Europe. . . . Remember that the Moslem advance is pressing down like a gigantic glacier toward the heart of Africa, from French Africa as well as from other parts of Northern Moslem Africa. To reach French Africa, the most difficult part of Africa, and to shatter the Moslem power at its base, is true strategy. We can do it best by way of France.

We ought to think of Asia as well as Africa. Is it not significant that the two greatest unoccupied masses of people can best be approached by strengthening the hands of Christianity in France? It is a matter much overlooked by us Anglo-Saxons, who have been priding ourselves so long that we hold the key to almost every situation. Thus, I say, there is a strategy, and it is a world-wide strategy.

## IV

## FRENCH PROTESTANTS AND THE WAR

The outbreak of war in August, 1914, came unexpectedly upon the Protestant churches of France, which were dreaming their generous and pacific dream. The great majority of French Protestants had always loathed war. If asked what is the supreme title of its spiritual head, French Protestantism would unanimously answer, "He is the Prince of Peace."

War broke out however. French pastors were preparing the organization of the Congress of Social Christianity, which was to be held in Basle in September, 1914, with a view to uniting Christians of all countries upon the essential affirmations of the Gospel.

A few French pastors had confidently gone to Constance to attend a religious convention which aimed at making the organization of peace a primary article of the Christian program. The war found them in Constance kneeling for prayer. What was the duty of Christians in that tragic hour?

French Christians asked their hearts, asked their conscience. Duty thus appeared to them: Germany having committed a deliberate assault against the peace of the world, the only means left to serve peace was to resist Germany and her guilty leaders. These Christians did resist, supported by a faith at once religious and patriotic; and this faith has been to numberless ministers and

laymen an inspiration to heroic deeds, worthy of the greatest epochs of history.

Heroes are those young Protestants who, with no spirit of revenge nor thirst for glory, have shed their blood on the battle front crying, "Long live Liberty!" The death of such as Roger Allier, son of the valiant professor Raoul Allier, of Captain Cornet Auquier, son of the pastor of Châlon sur Saone, of the missionary students Alfred Casalis, Francis Monod and many others, revealed the soul of the young generation, which had grown up under Protestant influences and had been stirred by the generous ardors symbolised by the tricolored flag of France. The expiatory death of these young men, no longer counted by hundreds and by thousands but by tens of thousands, signifies that any power in the world arising to threaten the ideal for which Jesus Christ gave his life will have to reckon with a barrier of dauntless hearts.

Heroes also are those pastors [1] who joined the army as combatants, chaplains or hospital attendants, and who have unwaveringly done their duty to the end. Many of them have been honored with orders and with noble citations. But the spirit of war was not their leading impulse. They struggled and many of them died, in the conviction that the cause supported by France and her

[1] The Rev. A. Valez, in a brief study, *Nos Pasteurs au Feu* ("Our Pastors on the Firing Line"), 1918, shows that in August, 1914, of 900 Protestant pastors about 450 were mobilized, with practically all the Divinity students, doing their patriotic duty on the field and in trenches with rabbis and priests, as chaplains, stretcher bearers and nurses, or as officers and common soldiers; faithfully, valiantly and generously performing the duty of the French citizen.

Allies is the incarnation of the spirit of the Gospel. Adolphe de Richemond, who fell on the field, Henri Nick, Jacques Pannier, Louis Gonin, Élie Gounelle and many other ministers, whose deeds bear comparison with those of the best army officers, were or still are prominent members of French peace societies. Their fight against Germany was a fight against war.

But not everyone is called to the firing-line. At the rear, many aged or invalid pastors, inspired with the like courage and faith, ministered to vacant parishes and helped bereaved and mourning families. Among these may be named the author, Paul Sabatier, who years ago gave up his parish to devote himself to literary work. During the past four years he has been preaching in remote villages of the Cevennes mountains. Many laymen and many women have had their share in this ministry.

In August, 1914, Professor Paul Stapfer, honorary Dean of Bordeaux University, took a country parish and preached every Sunday. Many a pastor's wife, during all the years since her husband's call to the colors, has been performing every ministerial office in her church.

Aged people, young girls, even children, by nursing the wounded and caring for other victims of the war have given evidence of the strength which fills the hearts of servants of Christ—the Master whose spirit France has expressed so faithfully!

The churches did not lose courage. They were full of confidence and resolution. In the invaded regions, in shattered churches, destitute of heat, they met to the end to pray and to rejoice in God. "We accept our share

in the national suffering," they said, "and put our confidence in Him who has thus far provided."

Religious newspapers have wonderfully ministered to the lofty spirit of religious patriotism which has strikingly characterized France during all these years.

Four days after the declaration of war, August 4, 1914, the late Pastor Charles Babut,[1] one of the most honored Protestant ministers, who is said to have coined the expression *La Paix par le Droit*—"Peace through Right," wrote a letter to Pastor Ernst Dryander, first Court Chaplain in Berlin, earnestly requesting him to lend support to a declaration to be issued by Christians of all European countries, urging them to banish hatred from their hearts, and use the influence at their disposal to secure that the war should be conducted with the greatest possible humanity. Dr. Dryander's reply, dated September 15, 1914, which came through a German religious magazine, was nothing short of a rebuke to Pastor Babut's proposals, asserting that Germans were "like a peaceful man assailed by three bloodthirsty hyenas at once," while "no warning whatever was needed to induce Germany to wage war in accordance with Christian principles, as demanded by humanity. We are quite confident," the letter continues, "speaking with full knowledge, that on our side the fighting is going on with a self-

[1] The death of Pastor Babut occurred in September, 1916; he left behind him two volumes of war sermons, preached in 1914-16, which have been published by his son. M. Babut had completed his eightieth year in April, 1916; he was almost completely blind and deaf; he had lost his eldest son "upon the Field of Honor;" yet in that month of April he dictated, learned by heart and preached six sermons, four of them for special occasions, all admirable in form and weighty in thought and in religious experience. Two other sermons were read from his pulpit on the Sundays after his death.

restraint, a degree of mildness and conscientiousness perhaps till now unexampled in the history of mankind."

In vivid contrast to the proclamation of the "93 Intellectuals" of Germany, is the proclamation [1] issued in October, 1915, by the French Protestant Committee for Propaganda in Foreign Lands, signed by André Weiss, President, and 89 other men distinguished in French Protestantism—pastors, professors and men of letters,

[1] To the Protestants of Neutral States:

In the name of the principles of the Sixteenth Century Reformation whose sons you are as well as we, we would defend before you with regard to this war, in which the very future of humanity is at stake, the cause of France and her Allies. . . .

We ask that those who believe that Germany and Austria Hungary are fighting only to defend themselves against enemies envious of their power will revise their judgment. Of those who still hesitate and dare not pronounce themselves, we await with entire confidence a serious examination of the proofs of the justice of our cause. . . .

Our belief commands us in all things to seek and serve the Truth. It "is great and shall prevail." The power of falsehood may triumph for a moment, but to the Truth alone belongs final and decisive victory. . . .

Free citizens of states, larger or smaller by the number of their inhabitants but alike great by the mission which is yours, consider the results of a victory by Germany. . . . Can you be ignorant of her ambition to extend her empire in Europe, and when victorious to subject the world to her political and economic domination?

Is there a single people that does not understand that upon the issue of this war its own destiny depends? With Germany and its allies victorious, in vain will you appeal to your neutrality, and her respect for treaties. Who will rise to defend you? . . .

We are struggling to insure the victory of that righteousness which as the Holy Book says, alone "exalteth a nation." Will not you stand beside us, in the defense of the most sacred of causes? . . .

Come, nobly armed with truth, to help us in fighting for the liberties of peoples and the sacred rights of nations!

admirals, generals and other army officers, ministers of State and to foreign countries, writers, senators, counsellors of state—names known and honored throughout the "intellectual" world.

The two hundredth anniversary of the first "Desert Synod" was celebrated by the "War Synod" of the Evangelical Reformed Churches held in 1915 at Crest, in the Drôme. Plans had been matured for convening representatives of all the sister churches of France, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy and England, but the war not only made this impracticable but prevented the churches of the invaded regions from sending commissioners. But the Synod gave evidence of its faith in the Church and in the country, and notwithstanding its heavy deficit (then more than 250,000 francs) it assumed responsibility for the full reimbursement of the salaries of pastors, temporarily diminished by the exigencies of war.

The Christian Society of the North, a section of the Central Evangelical Society, though it had grievously suffered by all its posts except three being in the invaded regions, sent word to the mother society that "here beyond the firing line, the churches are all of one heart and one soul, holding out in tribulation and expecting to be faithful unto death." They were greatly encouraged by the presence among them of Professor Jean Monnier of Paris, who immediately after the outbreak of war had hastened to put himself at the service of the Central Society, asking to be sent to the most difficult post at its disposal. He was sent to Lens, in the very heart of the iron furnace, and in 1916 was able to send out just two lines: "I am well and need nothing, but I would that my dear ones might receive the good news."

Ruins of Protestant Church at Templeux le Guérard.

On March 7, 1917, a largely attended National Assembly met in the Sorbonne, the President of the Republic being present, to affirm once more the "Union Sacrée," as the safest assurance against any enterprise of the enemy. On that occasion Professor André Weiss, President of the French Protestant Committee, speaking in the name of the Protestants of France said:

> To the magnificent effort which makes the Allies stand firm against the powers of oppression and falsehood, French Protestants are bringing their most resolute cooperation. As the descendants of those noble Huguenots who, long before the French Revolution, proclaimed the right of nations to freedom, they affirm, in the name of their religious faith, the holiness of the cause defended by the Allies. They stigmatize the numberless outrages committed by an enemy who dares blasphemously to claim the Divine Majesty as a partner in his own crimes. They are prepared for all sacrifices necessary to secure that total victory which alone will liberate mankind and give back to France the provinces forced by sheer violence from their tenderly beloved mother.
>
> With their forefathers they repeat: "Sweet is peril for Christ and for France!"

This declaration appeared on official posters not only in French Protestant churches but also on state buildings, and was profusely posted in Paris.

Early in 1917, the Committee began to bring moral support to the Protestant people of France by setting forth the moral aims of the war. Literature has been largely circulated and lectures have been given in most of the churches. This campaign has been considered by the French government as of great importance.

During those years of agony the French Protestant Federation, desirous of giving French Protestantism its

due place in public knowledge and opinion, had from time to time organized courses of free public lectures on subjects of large general interest. A prominent place in these lecture courses had been given to the subject of Alsace, and in 1918 the Federation issued a Call to all French Churches to commemorate the Protest made by the Deputies of Alsace and Lorraine on March 1, 1871, against the treaty by which the National Assembly (then sitting in Bordeaux) gave them over to Germany. On Sunday, March 3, 1918, this protest was read in every place of worship in France, Protestant, Catholic and Jewish, and explained to the Sunday School children.

When the Third War loan was being floated the French Protestant Committee for Propaganda in Foreign Lands issued a noble "Appeal to the Protestants of France" in its favor:

"At the moment when the *Patrie* expects from all its children the resources indispensable to its victorious defense against unrighteous aggression . . . the Protestant Committee for French Propaganda . . . adjures its fellow believers and compatriots to subscribe as largely as possible to the Loan decreed by the government after a unanimous vote of the Chambers. . . . It is a question of showing that our people, who have given without stint the blood of their noblest sons, much more precious than gold, are more than ever resolved to bring to the *Patrie* its material resources not less than its determined and tenacious will for the necessary triumph of the Right. What French Protestant will shrink from this duty? . . . What French Protestant will refuse to bring his humble part of effort, hope and faith to France, wounded but greater, more beautiful, more worthy of love, as her sufferings, firmly offered and heroically accepted, bring nearer that pure victory which shall be . . . the exaltation of the noblest French and human ideal of Justice and Liberty?"

Upon the entrance of the United States into the war the following cable message was forwarded to President Wilson and the United States government through the

American Ambassador in Paris and circulated in the French press:

The French Protestant Committee, in its session of April 11, 1917, with deep emotion hails the step taken by the Government and people of the United States.

The sons of the Huguenots send a brotherly message to that immense people across the ocean who, like themselves, have the Gospel for the foundation of their faith, and Freedom for their charter.

As French citizens, they most gladly welcome this noble and powerful nation into the struggle which will unite all free men in the whole world, for the liberation of those now kept under oppression. They hail the never to be forgotten words of President Wilson, the heir of Franklin, of Washington, of Lincoln, giving to the world the Declaration of Rights of the Nations, throwing a new light on the awful conflict, unveiling the forthcoming and successful crowning of the cruel sacrifices made to the cause of Justice and Humanity.

The French Protestant Committee is pleased to think its influence in the United States has served and will promote that great work of union and fraternity.

The welcome was first publicly shown at a great "Manifestation" of the French Naval League held in the Sorbonne on April 20, 1917, but it was only a few days later when French Protestants, by their recently formed French Protestant Committee, officially welcomed representatives of the American press by an impressive demonstration. In eloquent addresses of appreciation the President of the Committee, M. André Weiss, and the President of the French Protestant Historical Society, M. Frank Puaux, made themselves the spokesmen of French Protestantism.[1]

[1] The influence of American journalists in France over American opinion was recognized by M. Weiss, who showed how they

The entrance of America into the conflict was hailed with deep fervor by all France as if a revered and trusted brother had come to its relief.

A great Franco-American Assembly was held on June 3, 1917, in the Church of the Oratoire under the auspices of the Federation of Protestant Churches of France, the American Ambassador being present and with many members of the American colony joining in singing, "My Country, 'Tis of Thee." After a discourse by the president, M. Edouard Gruner, and an address by Pastor Charles Wagner, "declarations" were made by Dr. Chauncey W. Goodrich of the American Church, Dr. Samuel W. Watson of the American Episcopal Church of the Holy Trinity, and Dr. Ernest W. Shurtleff of the

had invariably presented to American leaders a "France united, active, prompt for all heroisms, in the defense of its threatened independence; its youth with one heart ready for the supreme sacrifice, its women all courage and abnegation, the entire nation, with no thought of conquest, solely intent upon restoring violated right, redressing injustice, liberating the enchained, restoring the exiles of Alsace and Lorraine to that homeland that is always in their hearts." He closed with an eloquent tribute to "the immortal words of President Wilson" which, like the flame from the Statue of Liberty enlightening the world at the entrance to the great harbor of his country, will blaze forth to the universe a reminder that "Right cannot perish; Right is eternally the sovereign of the world."

M. Frank Puaux reviewed America's hospitality to fugitive Huguenots and the services they and their descendants have rendered to her in return, closing with a tribute to the American flag:

"In the dark night of a war forced upon us by the crimes of foes, behold the constellation of stars, like the glorious constellations of the firmament! It shines from the noble standard of the United States, each star proclaiming the pure victory of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. Brothers of America, you have begun your march toward the Star in the East, and the day is at hand when it will rest victorious over this land, and the sacred words will again be heard—'Peace upon earth!'"

Student Movement, whose death soon after plunged the student world into sorrow. A Hymn of Union written for the occasion by Dr. Shurtleff was sung.[1]

As an expression of the warm gratitude of France for the cooperation of America in their present conflict, the Federal Council of French Protestantism issued an appeal to all Protestant Churches to observe "Mother's Day" on May 12, 1918.

When three Scandinavian Lutheran prelates, the Archbishop of Upsala (Sweden), the Bishop of Christiania (Norway) and the Bishop of Zealand (Denmark) issued in January, 1918, a call to all Protestant churches of Europe to send delegates to a conference in the interests of peace, the Council of the French Protestant Federation drew up a reply which was adopted by all the churches and sent to the Scandinavian countries. Five days later, a second invitation was issued. It was most courteously answered, emphatically explaining that such a conference was at the time impossible, being contrary

[1] Eulogistic notices of this meeting appeared in the religious press. Paul Doumergue in *Le Christianisme* called the War Message a "lay encyclical." W. Poulin in the *Semaine Religieuse* of Geneva said, "President Wilson has the honor of having uttered words which give the war its moral place in the history of the world." Pastor Lelièvre in *L'Évangéliste* said that by the message "it has been definitely settled that the human race will never turn back to despotism, that . . . the peoples that have been sacrificed to save civilization,—Belgium, Serbia, Rumania, France,—will side by side be first in honor as they have been in pain, walking in new ways of prosperity and greatness with those who, having suffered less, will have generously poured out their blood to save the right—England, the United States and all the other nations even to the smallest." Professor John Viénot, in the *Revue Chrétienne,* said, "The Puritans have lifted up their voice to the great world. . . . Democracy, once perceiving the reality of things, could not remain quiet in view of the European Crime."

to the French sense of duty and honor, and hoping for the day when all neutral nations will so see things that they will be able to confer together.

Early in the year 1918 the Protestant Federation of France sent to the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America the following call to prayer:

> The year 1918 will be the fourth year of a war without precedent in history. The Allies are defending the cause of justice. The momentous intervention of the great American Republic is an encouragement to us all and strengthens our resolution to persevere to the end.
>
> The future of the world will be decided on the field of battle and there the heroism of the allied soldiers is equal to their task. But to maintain that heroism and lead it on to victory, God must be a living, acting force among our people as He is our unchanging hope. . . .
>
> Have the churches recognized, behind the material forces which defend us, what the Prophet called the "horses and chariots of fire," the spiritual forces engaged in the strife, which will decide the ultimate issue? This is why, in the name of all Protestant Christians in France, and in agreement with all our Brethren in Great Britain, Ireland, the Dominions and Italy, we beg the United States of America and other nations allied with us to choose a day to be devoted to prayer, intercession, and thanksgiving. . . . While our brave soldiers multiply their wondrous deeds of war and we are ever ready to second their efforts, let us present to God our intercessions for them and thus hasten the end of the awful conflict and the victory of right over wrong. While Joshua fought in the plain, Moses prayed on the mount.
>
> We propose that Sunday, the seventeenth of March, be devoted by all our churches to fervent and believing prayer on behalf of our peoples, our armies and navies, our rulers, and the Kingdom of God upon earth.

The attitude of French Protestant soldiers toward the war may best be shown by quotations from the writings

of various chaplains, chiefly Captain Victor Monod and Pastor Henri Nick, of the Legion of Honor. The following are characteristic:

Not without deep emotion have young French Protestants, brought up according to the teaching of the Gospel, accepted the stern profession of the soldier. "As a citizen I am not in the least disturbed," said Sergeant Pierre de Maupeou (killed at Ablain St. Nazaire, May 28, 1915, at the age of twenty-five). "As a Christian my heart is often troubled. Two opposing and incompatible sentiments are struggling within me—I am not afraid to confess it. The morality of men is not the morality of God."

A theological student who fell in the battle of the Marne (killed at Vassincourt, Meuse, September 5, 1914), wrote to his parents:

"The hour of the great battle is near. We must pray to God, not for the success of one army rather than another, after the manner of the Germans, but for the safeguarding of justice. The one thought of all our young Christian soldiers is to continue instant in prayer, before the battle, until the spirit of each man be at peace with God."

This letter, found after his death, is from a young aviator, Henry Fergus Macrain, a member of a Paris Reformed church, a volunteer in the British army, killed February 27, 1917, at the age of 24. His words of calm, untroubled confidence ring in echo of utterances of the martyrs of old:

"My dear mother, I write this letter by way of precaution, in case anything unpleasant should happen during a bombarding raid I am about to make upon the aerodrome at Douai. As each previous time I have crossed the lines, I shall take the only true precaution, that of praying that I may hope and trust in the divine help. I am quite calm, quite sure that whatever happens to me will be for the best."

A humble little French Protestant soldier, as he lay dying, ceased not to pray with such earnest fervor that the Catholic Sister who was nursing him treasured up the words that fell from his lips, wrote them down and sent them to his mourning family:

"O Lord," he implored, "Let Thy will not mine be done! From my youth I have given myself to Thee. I hope the good example I have ever tried to set may have been of service in the furtherance of Thy glory. Thou knowest, Lord, that I was against war, that I fought to do Thy will. I give my life for peace. Lord, I pray for all my family. Thou knowest how I love them—my father, my mother, my brothers, my sisters. Lord, reward a hundredfold these good nurses for all their kindness. I am but a poor man; Thou art the dispenser of riches. I pray for them all."

Georges Nicolet, a pastor of Paris, enlisting as ambulance attendant, asked to be allowed to join the fighting troops as a volunteer. Unmarried and without a family, he believed that in so doing he would be obedient to the voice of conscience. "If I fall," he said, "my wish as a priest is to die facing the enemy and near to my God, regretting only that I leave no sons to march after me towards the light." Lieutenant Nicolet fell, leading his men, in Belgium in 1915 at the age of 34.

The eighteen year old Alfred Casalis,[1] born on missionary ground and dedicated to mission work, student of theology, Sunday School teacher, master of Boy Scouts, who before reaching the age of service volunteered as a soldier, feeling sure that he was going to his death, carried into battle letters of farewell to his family and his will—the last lines of which are:

"Looking into my own heart, I think I may say, without either pride or false shame, 'I have fought the good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith.' And I would that all my friends, those whose thoughts are constantly with me and whose hearts throb with mine, may be able to repeat the word of our hope, 'Because I live, ye shall live also'—Rochamcourt, May 5, 1915."

On the eve of the offensive in Champagne during which Maurice Dieterlen, a pupil of the Ecole des Chartes in Paris, the son of a French minister, was killed, he wrote:

"This is the finest day in my life. I grieve at nothing and I

[1] The letters of Alfred Casalis translated into English and widely circulated in this country have profoundly stirred and influenced American soldiers.

am happy as a king, glad to be laid low if so my country may be liberated. Tell the friends I am going to victory with a smile more cheerful than the Stoics and the martyrs of any age. We are a moment of eternal France. France must live, France must overcome. Prepare your best clothes, save up your smiles to greet those who will conquer in the Great War. It won't be long. We perhaps shall not be there. Others will be there in our stead. You will not weep. You will not wear mourning, for we shall have gone to death with a smile on our lips and a superhuman joy in our hearts. Long live France. Victory is ours!"

Protestant sailors in the navy—perhaps only one or two on a ship—make every effort to attend such Protestant services as they learn are to take place on other vessels. A chaplain writes, "They stand fast and are an honor to the country and our churches."

From the colonies—Indo-China, Cochin China, Tunis, New Caledonia, Morocco—come evidences that the war strengthened and brought into clearer evidence the religious character both of those who remained with the army and of those who were sent back, wounded and perhaps incapable of future self support.

Chaplain Henri Nick, formerly head of the McAll work in Lille, and now restored to this post, wrote in November, 1915: "It would be hard to believe what rich lessons of faith, devotion, patience, and Christian love I draw from interviews with my dear soldiers, and letters from those who have been wounded."

## V

## PRESENT CONDITION AND NEEDS

French Protestantism is now in a critical if hopeful condition. Many pastors have died as victims of the war; a number are still in the army, and for the last four years, the parishes have been inadequately cared for by pastors whom ill health or age had kept out of army service.

It has been impossible to hold regular Synods and Assemblies. Material resources are obviously unequal to the needs. Religious life, which at the beginning received a salutary impulse, seemed to stagnate as the war was protracted. New demands will be made upon social activities of long standing, to repair damages and to nurse the wounds of war. Churches in the invaded regions, the missionary stations in the North and the Pas-de-Calais, have been checked in their activities; their churches and parsonages are destroyed, their members generally scattered.

The loss of many young men upon whom the highest hopes were confidently founded has deprived the seminaries, home and foreign missions, and the parishes of invaluable resources of strength and life.

The outlook seems dark, but the picture has a brighter side. The churches not only hold fast, but stand against the tempest. They have stores of spiritual and moral

strength, which they manifest by maintaining all their activities. Nowhere have they sacrificed the essential; they still carry on public worship and social work, still maintain their seminaries, their educational institutions. They hope to keep intact for France that salt of the earth, a pure Gospel freed from errors and superstitions. What is most encouraging amid the ruins is their faith that these ruins may be repaired, the progressive life of Protestantism maintained. As at every former stage of their history since the Reformation of the sixteenth century, the "seven thousand who have not bent their knees to Baal" are preparing in silence and hope for a new life that shall be better than it has ever been.

## The Financial Situation

In the year 1898, the third Centenary of the Edict of Nantes was celebrated in the town of Nantes by a large Protestant Assembly. A survey of the situation of the churches was then made and reports were presented covering the whole field of Protestant activities in France. One of the most valuable of these reports was that on Protestant Charities, prepared by Professor Westphal, including a detailed account of the annual expenses of all the churches. The budget of French Protestant activities was then estimated at seven million francs ($1,400,000). At that time, the State budget for Protestant churches amounted to 1,632,000 francs. In addition, there were various allowances from town councils, estimated at 200,000 francs. In the year 1905 came the disestablishment of the churches, leaving them to provide for all their needs, thus adding to their previous

budget a sum which practically amounted to two million francs.

At the present time, twenty years after the above mentioned figures were given, the yearly budget of Protestant churches has largely increased. A comparison has been made by Professor Westphal between the general budget of worship for Protestant churches in 1883 and in 1897.

1883, frs. 4,800,324; 1897, frs. 6,932,000; Increase in 15 years, frs. 2,131,676 ($426,335).

The increase during the last twenty years, 1897-1918, must have been much larger, as ministers' salaries, maintenance of the poor, the cost of buildings and taxes have gone up with the general cost of living. The yearly budget of the churches before the war could certainly be estimated at ten million francs or two million dollars.

The war immensely increased all expenses, besides depriving the churches of certain resources which for the last four years have been in the hands of the enemy or in the war zone. A considerable share of the normal resources was also drawn from the Annexed Departments of Alsace and Lorraine, with which there was no communication during the war. The losses, war damage and destruction, which the churches had to suffer can hardly be covered by the sum of two million dollars, for which the French Protestant Federation asked, in their Message of November, 1917. (See p. 191.)

In connection with this statement it should be kept in mind that by no means all of the 600,000 Protestants are active workers and givers. Many are merely Protestants in name, while a considerable number are children. The

financial reports in the present chapter show how nobly those who are active Christians are performing their Christian duty to Church and nation.

When the separation of Church and State was under discussion, a man prominent in the political world said: "The budget of Worship is the oil of the lamp: if the oil is cut off, the lamp will go out." How far was this from the truth! Between 1906 and 1911 the amount subscribed for Protestant churches and theological faculties, formerly supported by the State by the annual grant of 2,320,000 francs ($464,000), reached the annual sum of 3,779,000 francs ($755,800), and this without diminishing the contributions for home and foreign missions, for which, between 1907 and 1911, more than a million francs ($200,000), were subscribed to found new mission posts and stations.

French Protestants were then entering upon a new era. Cooperation between the few richer churches of the industrial North and the smaller churches of the South had brought about a national unity, so that, through the principle of the strong helping the weak, the prospect of a sound financial basis seemed to be secure. Unhappily for this prospect, the ravages of war were mainly in the northern section of France, where many of the strongest churches were located. Within a very few months, many churches were destroyed. Their pastors and evangelists were serving as soldiers, hospital attendants and chaplains, unless they were exiled by the enemy or held as hostages.

The annual budgets of French Protestant churches and home missions before the war were as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **National Union of Evangelical Reformed Churches** | fcs. | |
| Budget voted by the Synod of 1914..... | 1,539,563 | |
| Theological Faculty of Montauban..... | 81,850 | |
| Preparatory Theological School of Batignoles, Paris ..... | 40,600 | |
| Special budgets of Churches..... | 800,000 | 2,462,013 |
| **National Union of Reformed Churches** | | |
| Central Fund before the War..... | 200,000 | |
| Special budgets of Churches..... | 450,000 | 650,000 |
| **Theological Faculty of Paris**..... | 99,530 | 99,530 |
| **Lutheran Evangelical Churches** | | |
| Two Central Funds, Paris-Algeria and Montbéliard ..... | 200,000 | |
| Special budgets of Churches..... | 155,000 | |
| Mission Intérieure, Paris and Montbéliard | 45,000 | 400,000 |
| **Union of Free Evangelical Churches** | | |
| Central Fund ..... | 22,500 | |
| Special budgets of Churches..... | 176,500 | |
| Commission of Evangelization ..... | 51,500 | |
| Commission of Education ..... | 1,200 | 251,700 |
| **Union of Methodist Churches** | | |
| Central Fund ..... | 110,000 | |
| Individual Churches ..... | 100,000 | 210,000 |
| **Baptist Churches**[1]—(Northern France and Belgium). | | |
| Central Fund ..... | 45,969.65 | |
| Individual Churches ..... | 51,161.35 | 97,131 |
| **Independent Churches** | | |
| Average estimated expense ..... | 105,212 | 105,212 |
| **Central Evangelical Society** | | |
| Central Fund ..... | 117,485 | |
| Individual posts of the Society ..... | 412,955 | 530,440 |
| **Popular Evangelical Mission (McAll)** | | |
| Average budget of Central Fund ..... | 287,968 | |
| Individual budgets of three posts[2] ..... | 45,000 | 332,968 |
| Grand total ..... | | 5,138,994 |
| | | ($1,027,799) |

[1] The Baptist churches of the South are for the most part supported by Baptist churches of America.

[2] There are many other posts some costing less, others more than 15,000 francs.

The budget of the Belgian churches up to 1914 appears to have been as follows:

| | fcs. | |
|---|---|---|
| **Union des Églises (State Church)** | | |
| Salaries and Church expenses (State subsidies) | 75,000 | |
| Home Missions (not subsidized) | 28,000 | |
| Benevolence and charitable institutions | 103,400 | |
| Schools, Young Men's and Young Women's Associations | 29,700 | |
| Total | 236,100 | ($47,220) |
| **Belgian Missionary Church** | | |
| Salaries and Evangelistic Work | 238,000 | |
| Benevolence and charitable institutions | 60,000 | |
| Total | 298,000 | ($59,600) |
| **Foreign Missions (both Churches)** | | |
| Belgian Protestant Mission in Congo | 20,200 | ($4,040) |
| Total | | $110,860 |

## PARIS EVANGELICAL MISSIONARY SOCIETY
(Foreign Missions)

### A. Budget

| | Before the War fcs. cts. | Fiscal year 1917-18 fcs. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Overhead expenses: Direction, administration, education of future workers, publications, pension fund | 165,958.80 | 123,013 |
| Basutoland (Lessuto) | 109,287.50 | 85,125 |
| Barotsiland (Zambezia) | 135,305.85 | 86,909 |
| Senegal | 20,170 | 11,570 |
| Tahiti | 33,047.55 | 24,000 |
| Gaboon | 175,972.50 | 138,648 |
| Madagascar | 279,500 | 243,200 |
| Maré (Loyalty Islands), New Caledonia | 24,450 | 10.000 |
| Cameroon | ..... | 50,000 |
| Unforeseen expenses | 17,207.80 | 25,535 |
| Total | 960,900.00 | 798,000 |
| | ($192,180) | ($159,600) |

B. Sources of Income

| | 1913-14 fcs. cts. | 1916-17 fcs. cts. |
|---|---|---|
| France | 533,949.60 | 395,590.50 |
| Switzerland | 179,549.03 | 180,595.46 |
| Great Britain | 24,997.60 | 102,689.20 |
| Alsace-Lorraine | 100,418.60 | 1,193.25 |
| America | 3,771.23 | 69,416.48 |
| Holland | 11,088.66 | 9,414.00 |
| Italy | 8,738.30 | 7,861.60 |
| Africa | 6,252.15 | 4,139.10 |
| Denmark | 1,190.51 | 1,109.85 |
| Belgium | 3,217.91 | 226.50 |
| Germany, Austria | 4,262.62 | 100.00 |
| Russia, Finland | 809.50 | ..... |
| Sweden | 846.75 | 52.25 |
| Asia | 470.40 | 112.80 |
| Oceanica | 250.00 | 250.00 |
| Total | 879,812.86 | 772,750.99 |
| | ($175,962.57) | ($154,550.20) |

In May, 1918, the society reported the first deficit since the outbreak of the war—a remarkable showing. Partly because of the increased expense of living, and partly because of the destruction by the war of a number of auxiliaries; partly also because of the great diminishing of gifts from Switzerland, the deficit at the end of April amounted to 158,000 francs. Yet during this bitter time, contributions from the departments of France had increased by 26,829.20 francs, and when the books were closed in May a considerable part of this deficit was removed. The balance remains a heavy burden upon this overburdened but heroic society.

## General Conditions Due to War

When war was declared every social standard was affected, health, education, conditions of life and of

Ruins of Protestant Church in Verdun.

labor, relations of home and family. Appalling suffering settled down upon entire populations. Countless thousands became homeless. Non-combatants were nursing wounds and war diseases. Widows and orphans were in danger of starvation. Before the war was two years old, one hundred and sixty Protestant ministers and their sons were on the honor roll of the dead of France. Deaconesses, nurses and women volunteers from all circles were bearing the crushing load. Strong churches were stricken down; congregations worshipped in cellars and did the impossible.

In 1917, one-third of all the ministers of religion in France, Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish, were in the field or had already been killed. The number of pastors in charge of Protestant churches and home missions before the war was as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **National Union of Evangelical Reformed Churches** | | |
| Pastors in active service in the second quarter of 1914 | | 413 |
| Pastors whose posts were in invaded or bombarded regions | 32 | |
| **National Union of Reformed Churches** | | |
| Pastors in active service | | 201 |
| Pastors whose posts were in invaded or bombarded regions | 13 | |
| **Lutheran Evangelical Churches** | | |
| Pastors in active service | | 80 |
| **Union of Free Evangelical Churches of France** | | |
| Pastors in active service | | 45 |
| **Union of Methodist Churches** | | |
| Pastors in active service | | 30 |
| Pastors whose posts were in invaded or bombarded regions | 3 | |
| **Methodist Episcopal Churches of France** | | |
| Pastors in active service | | 5 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Baptist Churches** | | |
| Pastors in active service in 1918 | | 11 |
| Pastors in invaded or bombarded regions | 7 | |
| **Central Evangelical Society** | | |
| Pastors and agents in active service | | 76 |
| Pastors and agents in invaded or bombarded regions | 16 | |
| **Popular Evangelical Mission (McAll) of France** | | |
| Pastors and agents in active service | | 30 |
| Pastors and agents in invaded or bombarded regions | 4 | |
| **Belgian Missionary Church** | | |
| Pastors and agents in active service | | 50 |
| Pastors and agents in invaded regions | 50 | |
| **Union of Evangelical Protestant Churches of Belgium** | | |
| Pastors and agents in active service | | 38 |
| Pastors and agents in invaded regions | 38 | |
| | 163 | 979 |

In February, 1918, the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (Foreign Missions) reported the following:

| | |
|---|---|
| Number of Missionaries: | |
| Married men | 75 |
| Widowers | 1 |
| Unmarried men | 4 |
| Married women | 75 |
| Unmarried women | 26 |
| Total | 181 |

Twenty missionaries and thirty student candidates were mobilized, fifteen were reported killed or missing and three were made prisoners.

About half of the Protestant pastors and nearly all of the theological students were mobilized at the beginning of the war. Nearly a hundred of them have given their lives to their country on the field of battle. The mortality among pastors' and missionaries' sons has also been

very great. More than 150 of them died for France. When we read their letters, as they have from time to time been published, we can appreciate in some measure what France has lost.[1]

In view of this mortality, the question of recruiting the pastorate at the close of the war is becoming well-nigh agonizing, especially in view of the fact that in the eight years between January 1, 1906 and 1914 the pastoral body of the Reformed Churches was reduced by more than one-fifth, largely owing to the financial pressure caused by disestablishment. Posts were put down when the pastors resigned or died; others were merged with nearby churches.

Wives and children of deported Belgians and Frenchmen, including persons of rank, fill the relief stations. Three Belgian pastors suffering from tuberculosis were sent to Switzerland. Children have been separated from their mothers in their frantic flight before the invader. The half of what France and Belgium have suffered can never be told.

The following note from the General Committee of the Union of Reformed Churches, one of the several church bodies, describes the serious situation throughout all of the Protestant churches:

> Since August, 1914, one half of the 220 pastors of the Union have been mobilized and absent from their parishes. In spite of this great inroad on the pastorate, the churches have continued to be served in a satisfactory manner. Pastors who were left in their positions spontaneously undertook to supply neighboring parishes deprived of their leaders. Retired pastors resumed active service and replaced a certain number

[1] Everyone should read Professor Allier's little pamphlet *Avec nos fils sous la Mitraille* (With Our Sons Under Fire).

of their mobilized colleagues. Devout members of the laity, men and women, lent their aid in visitation of the sick, in Sunday and Thursday schools, in religious instruction and, in certain cases, in the reading or even writing of sermons for Sunday services, when no pastor could be present.

Among these devout people we would particularly call attention to a great number of pastors' wives who, so far as possible, are substituting for their absent husbands, some of them reading in the churches sermons composed by the pastors, now at their posts as hospital workers or stretcher-bearers, or even as combatants. The churches of Switzerland repeatedly loaned to France, for weeks at a time, certain of their pastors.

A number of pastors were made prisoners. Two pastors of our Union thus far have paid with their lives for their devotion to the Fatherland, having fallen on the field of honor. . . .

The National Union of Reformed Churches of France has thus far succeeded in maintaining the salaries of all its pastors, even of those who were mobilized. (Those among them who received a salary as chaplain or officer voluntarily returned at least a part of their salary to their church treasuries, to the aid of our severely tried finances.) This maintenance of salaries requires great sacrifices and causes constant anxiety to our Executive Board. . . . The high cost of living makes the present salaries painfully insufficient, and we shall soon find ourselves confronted with the absolute necessity of raising at least some of them. Where shall the necessary funds be found?

In 1915, to balance the budget, which amounted to more than 200,000 francs, ($40,000), it became necessary to borrow 25,000 francs, in addition to a special gift of 20,000 francs made by a generous friend. For 1916, a still greater sum was borrowed.

Many ministers and evangelists lost practically everything. The following briefly tells the story of some of those pastors who are reported to have lost all their belongings in the war.

In September, 1914, Pastor G. and Mme. G. were busy nursing the wounded and caring for their parishioners under a heavy shelling of the town. Incendiary bombs fell on the

church, which was entirely burned with the Y. M. C. A. building and the manse. Everything was lost, not only the furniture, but also every book, sermon or paper Pastor G. had in his fine study.

The last letter and notes written by a young pastor, Lieutenant M., who was killed near Rheims, were destroyed in the same fire. In the war Pastor G. lost one son, who was kept a prisoner by the Germans nearly a year without being allowed to send word that he was alive.

Pastor G. served as Chaplain in the Armée d' Orient, and was awarded the Legion of Honor, the War Cross, and the Serbian Saint Sava.

Pastor J. was mobilized and ordered to the Front in the East at the very beginning of the war. His wife was left with five children and with Germans billeted in her home. On account of her children, she was later sent back to unoccupied France via Switzerland, without being allowed to carry with her more than a few hand bags. When the town was evacuated in March, 1917, everything in the house was removed and scattered, no one knows where. Pastor J. lost his entire library, with a very large number of sermons, essays and other notes, carefully written and kept on file,—the result of his work and ministry during twenty years.

Pastor K. was in charge of his church during the German occupation. He rendered invaluable services to his flock by his patience, his coolness and his knowledge of the German language. He was more than once summoned before the military authorities and threatened with arrest. When the town was evacuated, he gathered around him the remnants of his flock and read with them the sad words, "Father, the hour has come." For more than two years and a half he was separated from his wife, who, when the war broke out, was in the south of France on account of her health. They were newly married and were keeping their well-ordered home, which contained gifts and other beautiful things, in the hope of a happy reunion. When Pastor K. left his home to be sent into Belgium, he could see the motor van at the corner of the street ready to carry off everything his home contained.

Pastor D. was in charge of a church in the village of H., when he was mobilized at the outbreak of the war. When the Germans began their retreat, as a result of the battle of the Somme, the entire village was levelled and the church and the manse were blown up with dynamite. A few walls only remain, as shown by a photograph taken by a British officer. In the neighboring village of T., the church and the manse were destroyed in the same way.

The pretty village of J. with its shady trees and lovely gardens was leveled or blown up. The church and the manse were destroyed. Pastor G., who was from Switzerland, was evicted and forced to return to that country with scanty luggage; he is still, notwithstanding his age, ministering to the churches of the mining district in the south of France.

The little village of N., with its old farms and spinning-mills, was unfortunately situated in the region of the Hindenburg Line, where everything was destroyed. The pastor's wife, Mme. C., was permitted to return to France with her children; but Pastor C. was detained as a civil prisoner.

The miners of the well-known town of Liévin had formed a church, for which the work of two pastors was needed. One of them, M. A., left upon mobilization, the other one, M. L., from Geneva (Switzerland) remained. The town was caught in the firing line, and shelled by the French on account of the German batteries hidden in the gardens and in the houses. The manse, which was occupied by a German officer, was destroyed with the church. A mission hall and a temperance club belonging to the church were also ruined. Pastor L., notwithstanding his nationality, was forced to leave.

Belgian Protestant churches and mission stations were in the line of the German advance. All the Belgian pastors and evangelists who were not mobilized or serving as chaplains remained at the post of duty and danger, many with wife and children.[1] In Verviers, the first

[1] In July, 1918, a Belgian pastor wrote, "With our small salaries life is becoming exceedingly hard, and how much poverty around

city invaded by the German armies, there are two important congregations of the Belgian Missionary Church. Liége is one of its principal centers of evangelistic work, with the industrial districts of Namur, Charleroi, Mons.[1]

Complete information regarding the destruction of churches is not yet available. At the close of the war it was reported that the number of French Protestant churches and other places of worship damaged or totally destroyed in the invaded or bombarded regions was 131; the manses 18. At that time the fate of a number of churches was unknown.

PROTESTANT CHURCHES, PLACES OF WORSHIP AND MISSION HALLS

REPORTED DESTROYED OR DAMAGED DURING THE WAR

(Latest available information)

| | | Estimated Loss in francs |
|---|---|---|
| *Metzeral* (Alsace) | Church greatly damaged | 30,000 |
| *Thann* " | Church damaged | |
| *Nancy* | Methodist Chapel damaged by bomb, October, 1914—Reformed Church and Manse damaged by 380 mm. shells | 200,000 |
| *Verdun* | Church bombarded | 40,000 |
| *Rheims* | Church, Manse, Y. M. C. A. building hit by shells and destroyed by fire, September, 1914 | 500,000 |
| | Protestant School | 50,000 |

us we should love to help! A suit of clothing costs $100, a cotton umbrella $30, a pound of meat $3, a pound of butter $4, a single egg 30 cents!"

[1] Among well known Flemish cities occupied by Protestant churches may be mentioned: Louvain, Maline, (Mechlin), Alest, Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, Ostend, Roulers, Courtrai, Menin, etc. A curious effect of German occupation has been the establishment of French services in Antwerp, where there used to be two important German churches.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Soissons* | Church destroyed by shells on Christmas Eve, 1915 | 20,000 |
| *Chauny* | Baptist Church greatly damaged | 20,000 |
| *Tergnier* (Aisne) | Mission Hall and Evangelist's lodgings destroyed | 10,000 |
| *Templeux Le Guérard* (Somme) | Church and Manse destroyed | 70,000 |
| *Nauroy* (Aisne) | Church and Manse destroyed | 70,000 |
| *Jeancourt* (Aisne) | Church and Manse destroyed | 70,000 |
| *Hargicourt* | Church, Y. M. C. A., and Manse destroyed | 100,000 |
| *Saint Quentin* | Large Church built 1615, and other buildings, including McAll Mission, destroyed | 200,000 |
| *Pommery* | Old age Asylum and Castle, serving as a house of rest, property of Reformed Church in St. Quentin destroyed | 60,000 |
| *Lens* | Baptist Church destroyed, Reformed Church and Manse destroyed | 46,000 |
| *Liévin* | Reformed Church, Manse and Hall destroyed | 48,000 |
| *Valincourt* | Church occupied by German troops who burned pulpit and other fixtures | 20,000 |
| *Douai* | Church damaged by explosion early in 1915 | |
| *Lille* | Church and Manse damaged by explosion early in 1915, | |
| *Epernay* | Church greatly damaged | 15,000 |
| *Troissy* | Church greatly damaged | 30,000 |
| *Monneaux* | Church greatly damaged | 30,000 |
| *Compiégne* | Church greatly damaged | 20,000 |
| *Fresnoy* | Church greatly damaged | 20,000 |
| *Laon* (Aisne) | Church damaged | 5,000 |
| *Henin Liétard* | Church, Manse and Y. M. C. A. Hall damaged | 11,500 |
| *Aniche* (Nord) | Church damaged | 2,500 |
| *Sin Le Noble* (Nord) | Church, Manse, Y. M. C. A. Hall | 11,000 |
| *Saint Just En Chaussée* (Oise) | Church and Manse damaged | 50,000 |
| *Dorignies* (Nord) | Church | 15,000 |
| *Tourcoing* (Nord) | Church and Manse | 50,000 |
| *Maubeuge* (Nord) | Church | 30,000 |
| | Total | 1,844,000 |

That the tone of the population was not lowered by four years of agonies like these there are countless proofs. In Paris during the long weeks and months of the great offensive of 1918, while the city endured the long range bombardment, the morale of the people never flinched. The local section of the Protestant Relief Committee was even more active in sending parcels of clothing to refugees from the invaded towns and villages.

In other cities, which were long under bombardment, the anxieties and sufferings of the pastors and their people, in addition to their losses, were very great. Since the early days of the war Nancy had been under bombardment, with varying degrees of violence. When the great offensive of March, 1916, began, the bombardment became more intense. In April the Protestant church and manse, badly damaged in 1915 but repaired with the help of gifts from the French Relief Committee, were again injured and two members of the church were killed. In 1918 the bombardment again became terrific, surpassing anything previously known. Church and manse were again seriously damaged by a torpedo that fell in the manse garden. During all these bombardments seventeen were killed and a large number wounded.

The Protestants in the Belgian army were lost among the Roman Catholics, who alone had chaplains. A young Belgian pastor, P. Blommaert, mobilized as a stretcher-bearer, made many efforts to induce the military authorities to recognize the right of Protestant soldiers to have a chaplain of their own, and was himself nominated as such. He sought out his fellow Protestants, found about three hundred at first, and eventually found that there were more than four thousand. In the course of time

he succeeded in effecting the nomination of ten Protestant chaplains, six for the army in the field and four for the hospitals, where there are or have been about 2,500 sick or wounded Protestants. Protestant chaplains at the front reported a wonderful spiritual awakening among the Belgian soldiers: "Now you can speak of Christ," wrote a chaplain, to "anybody, anywhere, on any occasion." They created two *Foyers du Soldat* (soldiers' huts); they published a paper *Sous le Drapeau* ("With the Colours") of which 3,500 copies were circulated, and distributed Bibles and Scripture portions. One chaplain died in 1916.

Many Belgian refugees in foreign countries have for the first time come into touch with evangelical Christianity. In England and Scotland special services were organized for them; many joined the English churches and sent their children to the Sunday Schools. In refugee camps in Holland, the *Société Évangélique de Genève* carried on a very successful evangelistic work.

### Organizations for War Relief

*Comité Protestant d'entr'Aide pour les Régions envahies.*

Of all the societies formed by the French Protestants on account of the war, the Relief Committee for the invaded regions of France and Belgium has the greatest number of members and the largest sphere of work.

Its purposes are: 1.—To provide for Protestant families suffering from the German occupation of the northern and eastern provinces, such material and moral succor that, the enemy once repelled, no time may be lost in

rebuilding houses and churches. 2.—To perform this brotherly act in the name of the United French Protestant Churches.

The honorary and executive committees of this society include official representatives of all Protestant churches, commissions of inquiry and distribution being similarly formed. It is their duty to estimate and state the damage done and to control the distribution of gifts of all kinds collected by the committee.

The invaded territory was divided into five districts, including Belgium and Alsace. Regional and local organizations have begun to work everywhere. Fifty-one committees were active when the armistice was declared; hundreds of women in sixty-three workrooms were preparing all things necessary in the way of linen, clothing and furniture, and storing them in Paris.

Appeals for the support of the French Protestants were made widely in France, as well as among the Protestants of Great Britain, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the United States of America. The Dean of St. Paul's took the presidency of the London Committee, and collected large subscriptions. In the Netherlands, all the provinces joined in this Christian work; in Switzerland, a group of pastors and laymen was formed. The United States received delegates with marked favor, the Federal Council answering the appeal of the French Relief Committee by forming the Committee for Christian Relief in France and Belgium.

Practical work began the day after the victory of the Marne (1915), in one of the most ancient communities of France, Heiltz le Maurupt. Later came work in the district regained by the French troops, in 1917, between

Soissons and Chauny. But in one part of that district, the devastated country to the north between Arras and St. Quentin again came under bombardment, and the work of reconstruction was perforce suspended. The Committee devoted its energies to giving help to the repatriated, almost all of them old persons whom Germany, unable to feed, sent back through Switzerland. For this purpose a special section of "Emergency Relief" was formed, with a permanent station at Évian, American girls and women lending effective help in this mission.

The refugees are sent as soon as possible to Protestant centers, recommended to local committees and churches, who will keep in touch with them, so that when peace comes they may be sent back to their homes, where the brotherly work of this Committee will be continued.

*Mission Populaire Évangélique de France* (*MacAll*).

Within a week after the order for mobilization the Director of the McAll Mission, Rev. Henri Guex opened, in six of the halls best situated for the purpose, work rooms equipped with sewing machines and a canteen, where women might work half a day at the usual half-day's wage, might procure at minimum cost nourishing meals to be eaten on the premises or carried home, and might at their option remain for the brief five o'clock religious service. Even after the readjustment of industries these *ouvroirs* have proved to be a godsend to mothers who may not absent themselves from their children for an entire day, and to women of infirm health.

From Paris boxes were sent to the soldiers at the front and in German prison camps, many American "god-

mothers" helping in this work. The Nantes Fraternity was requisitioned by the government as a temporary hospital, and its leader, M. Chastand, put in command. On its restoration to the Mission, M. Chastand organized it as a training school for mutilated men. This proved such a success that the municipality and the state provided 500,000 francs to remodel and equip a large factory for the purpose, with M. Chastand still as director. Three hundred mutilated men of all the allied nations had been trained in this school by the end of 1917.

Uniting scattered families is an important relief work of the Mission, carried on by Mlle. Julie Merle d'Aubigné and a staff of volunteer workers. The war orphan work differs in one important respect from that of any other organization caring for "fatherless children" in that it cares also for children whose fathers died not in active service but of diseases contracted during the service, or who are still living but are incapacitated for work by reason of mutilation or disease. Of all the war-stricken families these are the most pitiable and there are many hundreds of such. The war orphan work was planned also to give spiritual succor to widowed mothers, the girls in young people's societies in many churches being organized to keep in personal touch with every mother of a fatherless child. Twelve hundred such children have been "adopted" in the United States.

The mobilization of spiritual forces kept pace with the mobilization of the humanity of France. Special meetings were at once organized for working women, for soldiers on leave, for colonials at their ports of entry. The mothers' meetings became a source of peculiar spiritual blessing to the bereaved and the suffering.

*Societé Centrale Évangélique.*

The Central Evangelical Society had been without news of its stations in the north and the Pas de Calais, until Pastor Jean Monnier, returning from two and a half years of work in the mining district (not till then had he received permission to return to territory "not yet invaded") brought word that the morale in the stations he had been serving was good. The Society has gathered and given to refugees many thousands of pieces of clothing. It sent out daily "munitions" for the front in the form of New Testaments, Gospels, "Soldiers' Prayer Books," tracts and leaflets. It published annually an illustrated Calendar for Prisoners of War, containing Scripture passages and words of sympathy and comfort, which was freely distributed in the German prison camps through the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association in Geneva, Switzerland.

## VI

# THE FUTURE TASK OF FRENCH PROTESTANTISM

Now, as in 1536 when Calvin wrote a dedicatory epistle to King Francis I by way of preface to his Christian Institutes, there are "many French people hungry and athirst for Jesus Christ, and few who have a right knowledge of him." To give France this knowledge is the task of French Protestantism for the future as it was in the sixteenth century; and after the war, Protestantism in France will keep true to this program. Five phases of this task stand out prominently:

1. Its duty will be to reveal to the French people the existence and the principles of Protestantism.

2. The emphasis must be placed not on making France Protestant but on making France Christian.

3. In accordance with the slogan "Reform the Reformation," French Protestantism must be faithful not only to the Past but to the Future.

4. While remaining centers of worship, the Protestant churches of France will be called resolutely to ascertain their position with regard to moral and social activities.

5. French Protestantism will then be in harmony with the culture and scientific method of the modern world, with the moral and social ambitions of our generation, with its thirst for justice, peace and fraternity.

The duty of making Protestantism manifest to France was not first revealed by the war. In 1913, Congresses of Workers in Evangelization were held in Paris and in Saint Jean du Gard,—the metropolis of Cevenol Protestantism,—delegates from the Reformed and Free Churches, the McAll Mission, and the Salvation Army fraternizing, and with a large local attendance. In October, 1914, the leading Protestant paper did indeed express its fears that France was religiously on the edge of a precipice; but the war has changed that feeling, and there are none now to doubt the character or the importance of the future task of French Protestantism.

The anti-religious campaign of the early part of the present century, carried on as a patriotic duty by French atheists and radical free-thinkers, who attributed to the Church of Rome (the only religion they knew) the disgrace of the Dreyfus affair and other errors and scandals which had lowered their country in the esteem of the world, was viewed with such seriousness by Protestant pastors, that the various church organizations, Reformed, Free, Methodist and Baptist, in 1908 undertook a determined effort to oppose and arrest it. To this end they released from duty several of their most gifted preachers and lecturers, proposing by their means to rekindle in the old Protestant Churches the flame of religious life, and set those churches to work in their immediate neighborhood. Thus, better than by any other means, would the unevangelized masses learn that Christianity was something more and other than the religion taught by Rome, and so the people be won to faith in Christ.

It was during this period that a distinguished Catholic prelate wrote:

Manse of Ruined Protestant Church at Nancy with its Pastors.

"France is no longer Catholic. There are in France a few thousands of pious souls, other thousands having habits of worship, but the mass of the people are irreligious. They are detached, and forever, from Catholicism. There is no hope of a conquest of the French people by Rome."

The field was therefore open to Protestant effort, and though the war has undoubtedly revived the spirit of religion in circles still Catholic, and has brought back to that church some who were detached from it, the modern spirit is so aloof from the reactionary methods of Rome that the field is the more hopeful for Protestant effort, as the hearts of the people have become more serious and more keenly alive to religious needs.

Those qualities of the French soul which have so amazed the world as they have been revealed through the exigencies of war, kindling to admiration nations that had before held France in relatively small esteem, did not spring out of the ground with the invasion of Belgium or the declaration of war. They were integral in the French character, the result of millenniums of discipline and of high ideals. It was not the war which awoke French Protestants to consider with prayerful solicitude their duty to France and to the world. For a century, amid disabilities of all kinds, they had been studying how to perform that duty. Circumstances had grievously restricted them, but the flame was always burning, and since the liberating act of 1905, making the churches free of State interference and patronage, this question had profoundly stirred the consciences of pastors and people, and especially of the young.

Between 1898 and 1914, Protestant students had been learning from Emerson and Roosevelt, as well as from the Catholic, Maurice Barrès, and the Protestant, Gaston Riou, the meaning and value of heroism, of the sacrificial life, and had come to realize the connection between existing realities and the divine life. Many social and intellectual works initiated by young Frenchmen, Catholic and Protestant, were inspired by a genuine religious preoccupation. The heart of France was turned toward faith. An inquiry undertaken by the Reformed churches in 1912 and 1913 revealed in the entire French population "a sort of religious disquietude," that promised to open the way to God. In 1912, Gaston Riou published in *La Revue* a "Letter to Young France" in which, though little dreaming of the approaching calamity, he warned his readers that the next ten years would be decisive. The national soul, driven to scepticism by the refusal of the Church of Rome to recognize the modern spirit and the acquisitions of science, had failed to be true to the spirit of France. Patriotically, politically and religiously it had mistaken its way, and the religious misunderstanding was at the root of the patriotic and political mistake. But now scepticism had been weighed and found wanting, a universal cry for a religion had gone up. And a true religion would rectify the patriotic and political errors. "We, the young men of France," he wrote, "are as sure of our mission in France as of the mission of France to the world, and we will fulfil it unto the uttermost, unto death. We have consecrated ourselves to France, and by that act we have given ourselves to God and to men. We have sworn never to despair of our country. . . . The day will come when

all France will be Young France. The new civilization will come to life through our life, through the very life of France."

Prophetic words, of which the writer only partly dreamed the import! The events of the last four years have fulfilled them, revealing to the world not only the task of France but the essential fitness of France to perform the task.

It is impossible to study that task without being moved by the thought of how this great war has been turned to further the providential plan of God. The Protestant population of France was so small and so scattered, that notwithstanding its large proportion of men and women of culture and influence, its task was always confronted with difficulties, and at the outbreak of the war these were greatly enhanced by the odium reflected upon them by the fact that Germany was Protestant and Protestantism the religion of the Kaiser. All this is now changed. Young Protestants have notably distinguished themselves in the war; Protestants in general have won approval by the faithfulness with which they have observed the Sacred Union; and the fact that Great Britain and the United States are Protestant nations has great weight. A representative of the American churches, visiting France in 1916, was deeply impressed by the work and the influence of Protestantism in France, conversation with the then Premier Briand and M. Ribot, then Minister of Finance, convincing him that the Protestant forces were held in the highest esteem by the government.

Thus the first phase in its task has been facilitated by the war. "The existence of Protestantism and its prin-

ciples" have been revealed "to the French people" so far as the government and the leading classes are concerned. But in all the remoter parts of the country, where Protestants are few or entirely wanting, the task still remains a large one. The peasantry of the rural districts are still, though enthusiastically patriotic, religiously an ignorant people, those who are Catholics being almost fetich worshippers, and those who have rejected the Church being unaware of any other form of Christianity. A missionary from the Congo wrote in 1908:

"My experience of evangelization in France is that it is far easier to preach the Gospel in heathen Congo than here. The black man is generally predisposed to hear the Word which tells of the other world, and he gives himself gladly to his Lord. The heathen of France are much less open to religion, which they distrust and generally ridicule."

Yet this missionary is deeply impressed with the thought that a great work is open to Protestants. "To represent in France spiritual religion, a high standard of morality, a free and at the same time a devout research in all questions pertaining to religion and the higher nature of man,—this, we believe, is our duty, and we will endeavor to fulfil it."

Among the peasantry there is therefore an immense work to be done—and only Protestants can do it. There is also an immense work to be done among the laboring class, ten years ago almost entirely materialistic and atheistic, but, through the influence of the war, recovering the idealism which is so characteristically French and the thirst for spiritual truth which has now become universal. They will never return to the Church of

Rome; they know nothing of Protestantism, they need that it shall be made "manifest" to them.

Perhaps only those who thoroughly understand France will recognize the force of the second proposition: that the future task must not have as its chief purpose "to Protestantize France." If, as a brilliant French evangelist, a Christian Jew, has pointed out, "the work of historic origins is as important to France as the work of evangelization," it is still more important to us Americans who long to help French Protestantism in her "future task." We need to know Huguenot history and the history of the relations of the churches to the State since 1802, and to one another since 1906, in order fully to enter into sympathy with French Protestants in their task. Religion is now, as it never was before, the matter of chief concern, from the great industrial centers to the smallest hamlets of France; but the question of Church and of creed is not the chief element in that concern. The thirst for the divine, now importunate in France, is a thirst for Him whom Catholic and Protestant churches alike put in the foreground of their teaching, yet whom both, by different methods and in different ways, have veiled from the popular view. In no previous time and place was the word of the Master more true than now: "I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me." The task of the future for French Protestants is to lift up Jesus Christ, with the sole purpose of "making Jesus King," and of meeting the need of France, with no thought of the aggrandizement of their own church, except as Protestantism itself becomes, through this self-sacrifice, what it has already been called, "the religion of modern times."

What Europe needs is not the theory but the practice of the incarnated life of God. This is the problem which the war has imposed upon France: to bring the evangelical ideal into society, into institutions and laws. France will work out the problem with intense ardor; first, because she urgently needs moral renovation; and then because *noblesse oblige:* she owes it to herself to be still the advance guard in the domain of thought.

French Protestants therefore must make their churches centers of moral and social activity as well as of worship, which is in itself a social act. As has been seen, the churches were working toward this end for sixteen years before the war. With the experiences of the war, they will have been fitted in a superlative degree for the task. Already they have learned to group their social activities around their churches. The social settlements, with Associated Charities and other forms of social service, which in England and America are scrupulously kept aloof from the churches, have in France from the first been functions of individual churches. Even the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, which are distinct from the churches in other countries, are in France allied with them. Each church has its Young Men's Union, its Young Girls' Union, usually its Blue Cross (temperance) and White Star (purity) Societies, frequently its Boy Scout troop, all integral parts at once of the individual church and of the National Society. The next step is the short but difficult one of making this tendency the universal practice, exemplifying in the life and acts of each church the spirit of the Saviour who had compassion upon the multitude and fed them and healed their sick.

As early as 1883, the gifted pastor, Tomy Fallot, declared: "We are witnessing the painful birth of secular society. While it feels that it must triumph at any cost, it feels also the need of a higher principle, an idea of life which renders men capable of much faith, much love, much patience and self-denial: it needs a religion. Our generation is afraid of the word, but it longs for the thing. My free-thinking friends have said to me: 'Give us a religious conception which will help us to realize our aspirations, and we will accept it. . . .' That religious conception is the clear apprehension of Jesus Christ, living and loving and dying for the salvation of the world."

# PART III

# RELATIONS BETWEEN AMERICAN AND FRENCH PROTESTANTISM

# I

## AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS AT WORK FOR FRANCE

From the very outbreak of hostilities few Americans were not touched by the impulse to share in some measure with France the service which she was rendering to the world. To mention only by name the organizations which since then have been formed in this country for this purpose would be impossible. While few of these are directly working for French Protestantism, the Protestants with all France find inspiration and courage in the poignant sense of their fellowship.

The American Red Cross, while strictly non-confessional, has more than once recognized the value of Protestant organizations as aids to its efficiency, and in April, 1918, the presiding officer of the Society in Paris took measures to meet representatives of the Reformed churches of France. The "beautiful zeal" of the members of this Society has greatly impressed the people of Paris, especially the order and method which characterize their service.[1]

The work of the Young Women's Christian Association of America among industrial French women has

[1] *Le Temoignage,* April 15, 1918.
*Le Petit Parisien,* April 2, 1918.

been officially recognized. At the request of the French government, nine centers were established for French munition workers. In these centers the work of the Young Women's Christian Association is similar to its industrial work in this country,—social, recreational and educational.

A typical *foyer* is a large building with a social center, cafeteria and canteen. The average daily attendance is eight hundred. For membership in a *foyer*, munition workers pay ten cents each a month. They have the use of the room, with games, magazines, and a loan library, being enrolled in classes in dressmaking, stenography, first aid, current events and singing. Gymnasium classes, military drill, hikes, games, picnics and informal parties are planned for them.

From the Young Men's Christian Association a constantly increasing number are working in alliance with young French Protestants in their *Foyers du Soldat* (huts) and canteens, with strict observance of the non-confessional laws of the State, but not without a marked religious influence, welcomed by French chaplains.

A number of unrelated Huguenot societies have for years been sending funds to French churches or to the Central Evangelical Society of France. Among those lately giving such support are the Huguenot Evangelical Society of Richmond, Va., and a kindred society in Staunton, Va.

It is probable that many Presbyterian and Reformed churches in various parts of the country have for years been sending occasional contributions to their fellow believers in France. An instance is found in the University Place Church, New York (Rev. George Alexander,

D.D., pastor) which for more than thirty years has been thus sending funds, in addition to generous contributions made to the McAll Mission.

The American Tract Society for more than eighty years has been sending cash appropriations to France. The grand total of money thus sent is $30,470. While these appropriations have been sent principally to the Religious Tract Society of Paris, they have also in some measure been given to kindred organizations throughout France. By means of these appropriations, not hundreds of thousands but millions of leaflets have been printed in the French language and distributed among the people. The dearth of popular literature, up to comparatively recent years, conspiring with the impulse to thrift innate in the French character, has enhanced the value of these tracts, which far from being once read and then thrown away, have in countless cases been read and reread, passed from hand to hand through a whole village, until they are literally worn to rags.

The American Bible Society is taking active interest in the distribution of Bibles and religious literature in France, and is working directly through the Bible Societies of France, and indirectly through the Evangelical Society of Geneva, Switzerland (*Société Evangélique de Genève*), which also has work in France. Annual contributions are made to these organizations.

The American and Foreign Christian Union was founded in 1849 to provide for the religious needs of American Protestants in the capitals of Europe. The "American Chapel" (now "Church") in the Rue de Berri, Paris, was built by the Union and presented to a resident and self-perpetuating committee of Americans,

who pay one dollar a year for its use. The title is vested in the American and Foreign Christian Union.

### The American McAll Association

Founded in 1883, this interdenominational association of women was the outgrowth of the story told in several American cities by Elizabeth Beach, a gifted young American woman, of a unique work in which she had taken part while pursuing her studies in France. She founded a number of auxiliaries, whose modest contributions gave acceptable aid at a time when the rapid success of the Mission was beginning to complicate the question of support. In 1880 and again in 1883 the Paris Board sent to the United States a deputation of such dignity as to be welcomed not only by the auxiliaries but also in the churches. The second deputation visited the principal eastern cities, making many scores of addresses, founding eight new auxiliaries, and collecting more than $15,000 for the Mission.

It was while public attention was everywhere attracted by this novel embassy from France that on March 29, 1883, representatives of eight of the auxiliaries founded by Miss Beach met in Philadelphia and formed the American McAll Association.[1] Not long after, the Rev. Martin Luther Berger, a Frenchman resident in the United States, who had organized the tours of the two deputations, became Field Secretary.

[1] The permanent organization included the wife of Ex-President Hayes as its President, and the widow of President Garfield, President of the Cleveland auxiliary, as one of its Vice-Presidents; Mrs. Mariné J. Chase, Executive Secretary; Miss Frances Lea, Treasurer; three Secretaries and an Assistant Treasurer with twelve Directors.

In October, 1883, appeared the first number of "The American McAll Record," edited by the Rev. Leander T. Chamberlain, D.D. Many leaflets and brochures and several books have since been published in rapid succession. At the first annual meeting of the Association, held in Washington, D. C., in April, 1884, Pastor Émile Cook of Paris addressed a large public meeting. By November, 1885, American auxiliaries were paying the rent, and in a few instances meeting all the expenses of twenty-three mission halls in Paris and the provinces. The following year a letter from the Paris Board announced a heavy deficit in prospect and asked for a day of prayer. November 12 was appointed by the Board of the Association and was very generally observed by the Auxiliaries, a substantial sum being also raised toward the deficit. Since 1902 Founders Day, January 17, the day on which the first Mission station was opened in 1872, has been generally observed by special meetings, and ten o'clock in the evening of August 18, the hour of the "Macedonian cry" of a Paris workingman to Mr. McAll, by individual private prayer.

Since 1891 two mission boats, *Le Bon Messager* and *La Bonne Nouvelle,* have been provided for service on the rivers and canals of France, and six portable halls for pioneer work in the provinces.

In 1904, the Directors of the Paris Board having found the need of an emergency fund to be urgent, the American Association appealed to its Auxiliaries for special gifts to the amount of $30,000. The entire amount was promptly given by Mrs. Henry Woods of Boston, long a resident of Paris. The Henry Woods Trust Fund was created and is invested in England.

In 1912, in recognition of the Fortieth Anniversary of the Mission, the American Association placed at the service of the Paris Board its present Central Hall, the "American Building," no. 1 rue Pierre Levée, Paris, a six-story building with playgrounds and roof terraces, costing $100,000.

Since the outbreak of war the activities of the auxiliaries have been multiplied. A large work of relief and an extensive war orphan work, while demanding large special contributions, have proved a stimulus to the regular collection of funds for the strictly religious work of the Mission, while considerable sums are accumulating for future work in the devastated regions, for a social center in a densely-peopled part of Paris, for a third mission boat, for a car for the Automobile Mission and for a Fresh Air and Week End Home for debilitated children and adult attendants of the mission halls.

The present number of Senior Auxiliaries of the Association is sixty, with eighteen Junior Auxiliaries—a rapidly increasing group, through whose means contributions to the amount of $10,000 have been gathered for a women munition workers' social center in a suburb of Paris.[1] Annual contributions to the regular work of the Mission amount to $45,000. Thrice as much has been contributed for relief work during the war, and considerable building funds have accumulated in anticipation of peace.

[1] The present officers of the Association are Mrs. Charles H. Parkhurst, President; Mrs. Frank B. Kelley, First Vice-President; Mrs. Abraham R. Perkins, Treasurer; Miss Harriet Harvey, General Secretary; Rev. George Titus Berry, Field Secretary. The Bureau of the Association is at 1710 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

## The Methodist Episcopal Church

The work of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America in France grew out of the expansion of work in the adjoining countries of Switzerland and Italy. The evangelistic workers of the Methodist Church, particularly in Switzerland, came in contact with people from French villages and towns and an interest was created in the message of evangelical Christianity. Bishop William Burt recognizing the obligation of this condition secured the opening of a mission by the General Missionary Committee of the Church in America in 1906, Mr. John S. Huyler of New York City pledging the funds necessary for its support for a period of years. A providential leader for the work was found in 1909 in the Rev. Ernest W. Bysshe, a successful pastor in the metropolitan region of New York.

Since Dr. Bysshe went to France an extensive evangelistic work has been carried on, particularly in the towns and villages of French Savoy. In this region there is a population of about four millions, three-fourths of whom are not connected with any church—Catholic or Protestant. At the outbreak of the war the Mission included seven stations and nine out-appointments, with nine pastors and workers. These immediately responded to the call of their country and entered the army. Of the pastors two are still in the service, two have been seriously wounded and one has been relieved from further service.

Up to the time of the war successful evangelistic campaigns had been maintained by means of a tent evangel with an average week night attendance of two hundred

and on Sundays an average of four hundred. Concerning this work, Superintendent Bysshe says:

A Methodist Mission was organized in France in 1907, immediately following the separation of Church and State. We have established ourselves in such sections as Chambéry, Grenoble and Lyons; also in Toulon and Grasse. Our Methodist constituency now numbers not less than 2,400 in Savoy alone. Throughout the war the government has stood by us loyally. The two great problems in France are how to educate the children, and how to feed the people after the war. That led us, at our orphanage in Grenoble, to train the sons of soldiers as agricultural experts. After the war is over there will be a greater opportunity than ever to carry on evangelistic propaganda. The great mass of people want and seek the Christian hope.

In connection with the relief work for the families of French soldiers many thousands of dollars have been distributed by Dr. Bysshe and his assistants.[1]

The Centenary of the Methodist Episcopal Church is planning to undertake liberal things in France. While this work is under the administration of the Board of Foreign Missions, that term is not applied to it in the sense in which it is ordinarily used, but like all the work of the Church in Europe, the motive is a fraternal cooperation with the leaders of the French people in helping to build up a vital evangelical Christianity for France.

At the time of writing Rev. Frank Mason North, Corresponding Secretary of the Board, is in France, together

[1] Dr. Bysshe has founded, in Grenoble, a refuge for refugee and repatriated French children, *Le Foyer Retrouvé*, and hopes to secure the support of 200 war orphans in this "Home Refound" for three years. Concerning this work the Rev. Henri Merle d'Aubigné writes, "It is a great agricultural farm school with all modern implements."

with a representative committee, to view the field. Dr. North is at the same time, in his capacity as President of the Federal Council, commissioned by that body to consult with the corresponding committee of the Federal Council in Paris, relative to the whole program and field.

The War Work Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has also become interested in the work in France. Bishop Walter R. Lambuth and Rev. W. W. Pinson, Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, are in France in consultation with other interested agencies.

### The American Baptist Foreign Mission Society

In 1832, at a meeting of the Baptist Triennial Convention, a strong appeal was made for undertaking work in France. Professor Ira Chase of the Newton Theological Institution was commissioned to visit France on a tour of investigation, accompanied by Mr. J. C. Rostan, a Frenchman. In the northern part of France they found several Christian churches holding substantially Baptist views, and upon Professor Chase's report the Board decided to continue the work. Mr. Rostan having died in the following year, Isaac Wilmarth was the first worker to be regularly appointed to the French Mission and reached Paris in 1834. The first Baptist church in Paris was organized 1835, with six members. By 1837 seven churches had been organized with a membership of 142, several helpers had been developed from among the people, and a pastor had been placed over each church, the only American representative at that time being Mr. Willard.

In 1848 Dr. T. T. Devan, formerly a missionary to China, joined the Mission but remained only five years. Since 1856 the work has been almost entirely in the hands of the French brethren, with only financial aid from America.

In 1872 the Rev. Robert W. McAll, who might well be called the Moody of Paris, began his now well-known work. Its influence led to a general revival in all the Protestant churches of Paris. Mr. Ruben Saillens, the young son of the pastor of an Independent Church, was long actively engaged in the McAll Mission. In 1889 he organized the second Baptist church in Paris and began to hold services in a hall in Rue St. Denis. In 1891, after much thought, Mr. Saillens withdrew from the McAll Mission to give all his time and influence to Baptist mission work. He was elected General Secretary of the French Baptist Missionary Committee, with oversight of the entire field. The revival which had begun in 1888 now increased in power and the churches were greatly strengthened. In fifteen months the two churches in Paris nearly doubled their membership; the Rue de Lille church had four mission halls and the Rue St. Denis two, aside from constant daily meetings in their own halls.

The work is now under the direction of two committees, known as the Franco-Belgian and the Franco-Swiss Committees. The appropriation made by the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society to the work of French Baptists in 1913-14 was $9,180.

During the year 1918 George W. Coleman, President of the Northern Baptist Convention, visited France; and the Foreign Mission Society has now commissioned its Foreign Secretary, Rev. James H. Franklin, to visit

France under instructions to bring back reports relative to the work, conditions and needs of the Baptist churches and of the whole situation relative to the evangelical movement.

### National Lutheran Council

The Lutheran churches have not until recently taken part in religious or benevolent work for France except in so far as they have liberally contributed to the Red Cross and other agencies.

Up to the time when the National Lutheran Commission for Soldiers' and Sailors' Welfare was organized, in 1917, the Lutheran Church could not act unitedly because of its various independent synods. This organization offered the Lutheran Church an opportunity to assist in a larger way, although being organized solely for the serving of American soldiers and sailors, it is purely a war emergency organization.

The budget of the Commission provided $50,000 for work in France, but with the understanding that it should be spent for the welfare of American troops rather than for the French Lutheran Church. Two commissioners were sent to France, the Rev. Charles J. Smith, D.D., of Holy Trinity Lutheran Church, New York City, and the Hon. Frank M. Riter of Philadelphia. The purpose of the proposed visit of these commissioners was thus stated to the Department of State:

> The National Lutheran Commission is the only organization representing all Lutherans in the United States. As such, it seeks the sending of a commission to the French Lutheran Church. It will aim to hearten the Lutheran Church in France,

and to assist this church both in ministering to its own people and to the United States soldiers whom it may have opportunity to serve.

The Commission carried the greetings of 2,500,000 American Lutherans to Marshal Foch, General Pershing and President Poincaré. It reached Paris in November, 1918, was warmly welcomed, and after investigating the condition and needs of the Lutheran churches of France and Alsace returned to America before the end of the year. The visit of the two commissioners has been of great value in heartening the French Lutherans. It has also created a lively interest among the Lutherans in this country.

In order to deal more directly with emergencies and needs arising out of the war, the Lutheran Church has organized the National Lutheran Council, which permanent organization is empowered to take the proper steps to meet such emergencies and needs. The Lutheran Church in France constitutes one of these.

## II

# AMERICA'S FUTURE PART FOR FRENCH PROTESTANTISM

The following message, under date of November, 1917, doubly impressive as written by the late revered Dr. Charles Wagner, fitly introduces our subject:

The Federation of French Protestantism, authorized representative of all the groups of our churches, charged by them with common accord to defend their interests wherever there may be need, sends its cordial greetings to the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

With a heart full of gratitude, French Christians have noted, since the beginning of the war, the admirable movement which has borne America toward France, producing many helpful works, even before the United States joined the Allies in the war. We, in the land of the old Huguenots, have in particular been deeply comforted to witness on many occasions the deep and active sympathy which exists for us in the heart of America. All this emboldens us to confide to our American brothers the burdens and cares of our Protestant people and of our churches; so that they may understand the terrible situation which this war has brought upon us, may measure our losses, our ruins, our present sufferings, and foresee the distress which still awaits us.

In all the devastated regions of France and Belgium there are Protestant communities. Under invasion they have literally suffered martyrdom. Most of them are deprived of their pastors who have been mobilized as soldiers or officers, as hospital attendants, as chaplains, or who with the prominent citizens of

their parishes, have been led away into exile. The pitiful remnant suffers every privation. Only by exception have aged or infirm pastors remaining at their post received any salaries. With their families and parishioners they have undergone bombardment and pillage, have lived in cellars, have known extreme poverty and all the horrors of invasion. In the recovered regions they have undergone every calamity which human beings can endure. The enemy withdrawing burned their houses, ravaged their gardens, cut down their trees, carried away everything. After the tempest of iron and fire the land is upheaved like a volcanic region.

French Protestants are moved by these distresses. They have long been endeavoring to aid the most urgent cases. But all our churches have suffered from the war. Property has diminished, possessions have been lost. Many are caring for relatives from the war-swept regions. The very limited aid at present possible will soon be entirely disproportionate to the need. How shall we meet the call to repair breaches, restore ruins, rebuild temples and manses, assure the salaries of pastors—salaries which the devastated regions will be unable to furnish? How shall we aid the mutilated, the widows and the orphans, how enable families to get upon their feet, reorganize sacked homes, restore devastated fields to cultivation? In what state shall we find the cities and villages of the Aisne, of Champagne, of the East? In what state will be the Protestant churches of Belgium, for which we would care as for our own? In what state shall we find Alsace and Lorraine when the enemy has been driven back by the Allies? With fears, alas, too well justified we look toward the near future!

God will not fail us. But have we not a right to hope that one manifestation of His aid will be human fraternity, active tenderness on the part of churches suffering less from the war than our own, churches that will find noble satisfaction in lending us aid and support? Is it not today our duty, in the presence of the daily approaching future, to organize and prepare for it?

In this spirit the Protestant Federation of France has organized a Relief Committee to be the instrument for future material

and spiritual reconstruction. This committee has appointed men of experience and good will to whom it has entrusted the duty of investigating needs, of receiving requests, of estimating losses, of ministering and distributing in the best possible way such resources as Christian liberality may gather for this end.

All is ready for a large undertaking which will be practical, prompt and well coordinated. We are sure that our brothers of America will by their strong aid make us capable of accomplishing all that we should do in the intimate union of the French Protestant family. They will wish to extend efficient sympathy to their brothers in the faith, descendants of the Huguenots, to those whose fathers have so many times fought for spiritual liberty and who so effectively contributed toward laying the foundations of American democracy. We shall need their sympathy not only for restoring ruins but also for revealing to the heart of our people the patriotic duty of our churches in the glorious awakening which we now foresee. Protestantism will have great services to render; its place is marked on the fields of work and the task is so great that we shall not be able to accomplish it by our own strength alone.

Support from without, both moral and material, will be indispensable to our churches and to our works of evangelization. Our American brothers will not leave us alone in this glorious work of spiritual reconstruction, of spreading abroad the great truths which the Christian world demands with all the strength of its soul. Doubtless you will ask us, friends and brothers, to name a definite sum that will cover our needs. In reply we are compelled to tell you that the sum we could now estimate will surely be exceeded by reason of future developments. To enter vigorously upon the matter, and being once committed to the glorious task, not to be condemned to a failure, we need to count upon about $2,000,000 to provide for immediate needs and for the repair of material damage.

A further sum approximating the above will be necessary to assure to the churches and to our works of evangelization a fund from which their impoverished budgets may draw supplementary subsidies.

We feel the seriousness of such figures. The pressure of cir-

cumstances and our entire confidence in your fraternal disposition give us courage to name them. May God give us both the opportunity of putting our whole hearts into a simultaneous effort, that from the heart of the present tribulation may come, through His Paternal inspiration, the light which shall prepare for us a better time.

Cordially yours,

(signed) E. Gruner, President French Protestant Federation.
Cornélis de Witt, President Protestant Committee for Aid for the Devastated Regions.
André Weiss, President French Protestant Committee.

Let us reconsider the conditions. There has been a great mortality among pastors and evangelists. Of missionaries in the foreign field all of military age and fitness were with the army, and of those who were left more than one died, worn out by trebled duty and by the impossibility of enjoying the usual furloughs rendered almost imperative by climatic conditions. Of workers in social and benevolent activities of military age an equal proportion of loss prevails. A recent estimate shows two out of every three of these workers as having been with the colors, and of these one in three has laid down his life. Of the pastors and mission workers above military age (and doubtless the same is the case with lay workers) few are they who have not given at least one son to France, a number of them theological students and candidates for the ministry. Pastor Élie Gounelle, formerly of Roubaix, later of Paris, at the death on the Field of Honor of his eldest son Henri, a boy of nineteen, himself volunteered in his place, and has since then been a chaplain with the army, a position, as the facts have shown, as perilous as any other. The war being over human reinforcements are as imperatively

needed by French Protestantism as ever were relief forces needed by a beleaguered city.

How shall we meet this need? We know that there are to-day in France, working in Young Men's Christian Association huts and canteens, in associations of all sorts for relief and benevolence, hundreds if not thousands of American young men and women,—pastors, business men, "society" girls and older women of leisure; all of them men and women of education and refinement, who have had from one to four years of practice in speaking French. At the close of the war they stand at a point of vantage for perfecting themselves in French, their ears having become familiar with the spoken language in all its idioms and various forms of *patois*. To such of these as are not imperatively called home by duty, the summons is loud and clear; having thus generously given themselves to the cause of France, which is the cause of all humanity, they more than all others owe it to themselves, to France and to humanity to complete the gift by offering themselves to the stricken land in this hour of reconstruction, and those who are Protestants by offering themselves to the French Protestant Federation under one of its permanent forms of activity; chaplains and Young Men's Christian Association workers to the ministry or to evangelization; civil engineers, soldiers and women to works of reconstructive philanthropy and education.

If the money in the possession of American Christians were not consecrated money, it would seem almost unworthy of the great cause to say that in the second place America owes it to French Protestantism to provide large funds for future need in France. It is not unworthy,

because American Christians know themselves to be, and have by repeated proofs shown themselves to be, stewards of God's bounty. Thank God, it is not only the rich men and women of this country, but those of moderate possessions, even those of the most slender means, who have learned in the school of God that it is more blessed to give than to receive, and from such the facts as to the financial condition and needs of the Protestant churches and their scattered adherents, and as to the religious and social benevolences of French Protestants, will insure large contributions to this cause.

Large sums of money are needed for the rebuilding of churches utterly destroyed by war, as in St. Quentin, Rheims, and many smaller towns and villages in the devastated regions, and for the repairing and furnishing of many others, still standing indeed, but robbed of furniture and fittings, even of doors and windows, or converted into storehouses, granaries, even stables. Many will be the widows and fatherless children of ministers, evangelists and missionaries, not actually killed in battle and therefore not entitled to pensions from the State, who must be cared for by the churches. And many will be the ministers and missionaries returning from the war broken and prematurely aged, needing to be restored to usefulness, if possible, by a long period of repose or of special treatment, undisturbed by financial anxiety.

Protestants of Alsace also need our help. Heinrich Frankel, in *Les Martyrs d'Alsace-Lorraine*, wrote that since the outbreak of war peaceable and law abiding citizens had been condemned to an aggregate of *three thousand years* of prison and were suffering their sentences, merely for having "French sentiments."

If it was difficult for the churches before the war to meet their own expenses with those for home and foreign missions, it will be doubly difficult now with many of their most generous givers dead, business disorganized, and calls hitherto unknown pressing upon those who yet remain. With the new era many new demands will arise. Scattered Protestants must be "gathered one by one," and restored to their birthright of religious opportunity. Educational works must be enlarged and their number and scope increased—the maimed, the blind, the deaf must be taught how to live—new benevolences must be instituted and supported. The need of good religious literature, always considerable, will be greatly increased, and such literature is never self-supporting.

A serious attempt to calculate the relative percentages of financial aid beyond what ought to be expected from French Protestants, that will be needed to repair damages and embrace new opportunities, was lately made by the officers of the Federation of French Protestantism.[1]

The foregoing pages of this chapter show how far their requests are from including all the needs that ought to touch the American heart, all the financial help that America ought to give. In the given estimate not a word

[1] After full consideration of the subject "the Committee thought it wise to remit the larger part of funds immediately expected from America, or 45 per cent., to the Relief Committee (Comité d'entr'Aide). For the churches, since help proportionate to the losses of each denomination could not be exactly measured, the number of pastors in each denomination was taken as a basis, an allowance being set apart as emergency war help. A share of 35 per cent. was voted for this. For church buildings, manses, etc., 10 per cent was voted; for educational and social work, schools in the invaded regions, seminaries, the religious press, a most needful medium in very difficult circumstances, was voted 10 per cent. These are modest requests, based upon funds immediately to be hoped for.

was said about Belgium, not one about Alsace-Lorraine, though their needs enormously increase the task of French Protestantism and the obligation of Americans. Pastor Bach reminds Americans of their special debt to Alsace, since an Alsatian regiment (the *Royal Deux Ponts,* now the 89th), in Rochambeau's forces, practically decided the issue of the War of Independence. Surely American Christians will hasten to support their French brethren in their work for Alsace!

The Established Church of Belgium, its ministers salaried by the State, carried on until the cruel days of 1914 at its own charges (except for the State grant of fcs. 75,000 for stipends of its pastors and their assistants), a useful work, including evangelization, foreign, home and seamen's missions, temperance, theological and primary education, diaconate and deaconess work, care of the aged and of orphans, and social activities, at a cost of fcs. 2,728,000. Having cut expenses down by one-third, they were able for two years to defray the remainder from reserve funds and by extraordinary efforts on the part of the people; but now the need is urgent for gifts of at least fcs. 30,000 per year.

Nor was mention made of the expense of the French churches for benevolences and deacons' ministry, especially in the Reformed and Lutheran churches. The United Lutheran Church of America, recently formed by the union of three distinct Lutheran bodies, the General Council, the General Synod and the United Synod South, has expressed itself as purposing to extend effective aid to their French and Alsatian brethren.[1]

[1] Lutheran readers of this volume will be interested to learn of the work at Courbevoie, a suburb of Paris, where in 1907

Nor have the needs of the Paris Board of Missions (*Société des Missions Evangéliques*) been included in the financial help requested; although the war has actually added to its work by the taking over of the Cameroon Mission from the German society. Up to this time this extra expense has been covered by special gifts; but for reasons already mentioned the society is heavily crippled in its finances.

We have seen what the foreign mission work of France means to the progress of the Kingdom of God, and we know that it is an unquestionable fact that a French society alone is qualified, under present conditions, to occupy some of the world's most important unoccupied fields, those which are French colonies. In Asia, there is the whole of French Indo-China, with twenty million inhabitants. In Africa are French Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, the greater part of the French Congo—by itself nearly three times as large as France—and above all the Sudan, where the final conflict between the Crescent and the Cross is to be decided. These African colonies contain more than thirty million inhabitants, mak-

the Lutheran Association for the Development of Women's Activities established a large plant and now carries on, in connection with its training school for deaconesses, a private hospital (established in 1901, and in 1914 turned into an auxiliary war hospital), and two other auxiliary hospitals, which since August, 1914, have cared for 872 wounded for an aggregate of 58,256 days or 66⅞ days each, a dispensary for tuberculous soldiers, a housemaids' training school, a home for aged persons, and an open air school for feeble and debilitated children. The greater part of the expenses have been met by the committees of ladies managing these various works, and by grants from government for the hospitals, but financial conditions are daily becoming more difficult, not to say that large expenses attended the setting up of the auxiliary hospitals. At present a debt of over fcs. 100,000 rests upon the work.

ing a total of fifty million subjects of France who are still waiting for the Gospel. The door is wide open to French missions, and since the Protestant Missionary Societies of America and Great Britain may not occupy these fields, it is their duty, it is *our* duty, to come forward with help for those who may. It is not a question of our debt to France. All Christians are responsible for the heathen world. With our eyes at last open to the noble character of France, to her splendid efficiency for the spiritual service of mankind, shall the call be heard without evoking a whole-hearted response? Chaplain Lauga in his pamphlet "The Hope that Comes from America" rests his faith upon the fact that there are not two Frances, Protestant and Catholic; that there is only one France, that France is one, and that our interest in French Protestantism is only one form of our love for France, our respect for its convictions, its love of freedom of thought and conscience. It is all France that with implicit confidence is relying on that "Christian conception of the power of money," which with wondering respect they find in Americans, believing that with us money is an instrument, a servant, that the dollar has value only as it *serves*. This view of the American character, held by French Protestants, makes it both easy and inspiring for us to extend financial aid to France through our Protestant brethren there.

They tell us that "the round figure of two million dollars for the general expenses of churches and religious works is far below the actual total, and supposes a fair sum 'per capita,' of 600,000 French Protestants who twelve years ago were accustomed to an established and State-supported Church, and considered that support a

due compensation for the immense losses and numberless destructions of churches during two centuries and a half of persecution." Two million dollars gives a fair sum per capita for 600,000 French Protestants! What is a "fair sum per capita" for thirty million American Protestants who realize the present woes and needs of France, and the enormous debt we owe her? We have formed the habit of large gifts to our nation for war uses, of lavish contributions to the Red Cross and the Christian Associations of young men and young women. It will be no small amount that will satisfy our love of France, and our sense of obligation to her, now that, in the extremity and the opportunity of her noblest sons and daughters, her Protestant children, we have the privilege of denying ourselves for her. Large contributions of money, generous self-devotion of a great army of men and women, will alone satisfy the heart of Protestant America.

More than all else we owe to the Protestants of France our spiritual sympathy and our prayers. French Protestantism now stands at the threshold of a new career, for which four hundred years have been preparing her. For three hundred years it was the mission of French Protestantism to endure; as Marie Durand engraved the word with her knitting needle upon the stone floor of her prison Tower of Constance, to resist, *Résistez!* Now it is summoned to conquer. For this the century just past has been a preparation; in the midst of a nation of 40,000,000 this little handful of 600,000 Protestants has organized itself, has trained itself in the two schools of missions, home and foreign, and of benevolence in countless forms, culminating in an important work of

social Christianity; it has become aware of a great religious hunger and thirst consuming the multitudes of France who know not God. But the events of the war have also awakened the Catholic Church in France to this religious hunger, and with new and chastened zeal she is endeavoring to meet it. Between these two bodies, five millions of Catholics, devoted but unskilled for this task, and three-fifths of a million of Protestants taught in the school of resistance and of effort, lies the great nation of France, twenty years ago sceptic, now seeking for a religion. Which shall she choose? Gaston Riou, returning from his German prison camp, warns us:

> Be assured that nothing can quiet religious hunger; if we (French Protestants) fail in our duty to France, France will throw herself into the arms of Rome. That for us would be abdication, for France herself it would be discrowning, for the Mission of France in the world would be lost.

Shall we, Protestant Christians of the United States, stand aside and see France lose her crown? We, between whom and destruction France stood for three long years we to whose sons she is now showing generous hospitality, with whose tears of bereavement she is even mingling her own? If ever America owed a debt to France, she owes it to her now, owes it to hear in the voiceless supplication of her soul hunger the gentle reminder of the aged Paul to Philemon, "I do not say to thee how thou owest unto me even thine own self, brother." Yes, we owe to her our spiritual sympathy and our prayers, but more imperatively still we owe it to her that not one human soul in the length and breadth of that "sweet land of France" shall be left in ignorance

of what the Reformed Religion of Christ is, and of what it has done for a hundred million fellow beings in this American country which she so ardently loves and honors.

Imagination longs to picture, faith yearns to discern, what the full satisfaction of the present soul hunger of France would mean to the whole world. A people that have loved not their own lives to the death for the emancipation of the world from autocratic rule—what would such a people be to the world when filled with all the fulness of Christ? France, completely evangelized, France "colporteur of ideas," with her love of the fitting and the logical, her lofty idealism, directed to the salvation of the world, would be a center of apostolic effort, a fountain of holy influences, an example of Christlike enthusiasm of humanity until now unknown. Such a France would carry the principles of religion into all social relations, would teach the world how religion can be made to interfuse human government without impinging on individual liberties. She would usher in that era for which the whole creation has been groaning and travailing in pain, when the kingdoms of the world shall be the Kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ, and with the full allegiance of all humanity He shall reign for ever and ever.

Let American Protestants by such large gifts as will overshadow even our Red Cross and Young Men's Christion Association "drives," impress all France with the true nature of Protestantism, and thus discharge to that glorious nation our obligation "both financial and moral."

## III

## AMERICAN PROTESTANTS UNITED TO PERFORM THEIR PART

As the war has been strengthening the bond of sympathy between America and the people of France and Belgium, the Protestants of these countries, realizing that the moral strength of America lies in its spirit of freedom fostered by Protestantism, have been endeavoring to come into closer fellowship with the Protestants of America.

Immediately after the declaration of war by America the French Protestant Committee sent to the Publicity Department of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America a letter for publication in the Protestant papers of this country, expressing joy in the fellowship of the two nations, now allied in the same great cause, and suggesting an interchange of newspapers and periodicals to the end that each country might learn to understand the other more perfectly. A part of the letter follows:

The French Protestant Committee, in cooperation with the Federal Council of the Protestant Churches in France, has already done much, by means of its monthly Bulletin and other literature, to make the position and the aim of France during the war better known to your people. But since the great

American Republic has entered with all her might into the battle for the united cause of Democracy and International Right, we feel it our duty to pay a more worthy tribute to the kinship and common ideals existing between the Protestant churches of the American and French Republics. . . .

It is with the spirit of thankfulness and Christian fellowship that we, French Protestants, testify to the invaluable support of the churches and the religious press of America in nursing our wounded, feeding our fellow-countrymen under the yoke of the oppressor and caring for destitute refugees. . . .

Our Committee desires to emphasize the fact that our work, as explained above, is not confined to the time of war. The Federal Council of the Protestant Churches in France, of which our Committee is the "Foreign Office," existed before the war, and is of great help to our churches at the present time. Our Federal Council, uniting all our churches, will be of still greater importance when we come to face the problem of reorganization and restoration, after the establishment of peace. . . .

The sense of intimate communion and confidence between the Protestants of France and America had not however awaited the entrance of the United States into the war. Delegations previously sent to this country by the French churches—though the need of financial help was in the first two instances their immediate cause—were yet more strongly motived by the desire for a more perfect acquaintance and more intelligent sympathy (deeper it could hardly be) between Protestants of the two nations, and the third delegation was sent from this motive alone. The first to come, the Rev. Stuart L. Roussel, a member of one of the oldest Huguenot families in the south of France, had traveled over much of Africa and Asia as well as America, and at this time, January, 1915, was a lecturer and missionary among the young. He came as the envoy of the Evangelical Reformed

Churches, sent to acquaint American Protestants with the financial difficulties with which these churches were struggling, and to raise funds in their behalf.

A committee was formed, of which Dr. J. H. Jowett, then pastor of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York City, was chairman. On this committee were other distinguished pastors and laymen, the Episcopal Bishop of New York, Dr. Greer, and the Bishop's Coadjutor Dr. Burch, Dr. Mark Mathews, Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., and the late Colonel Roosevelt. This committee created an Emergency Relief Fund and authorized the General Secretary of the Federal Council to take measures for securing funds. Mr. Roussel meanwhile gave his message in the principal cities of the Eastern and Middle States.

In 1916 Dr. C. S. Macfarland went to Europe as the representative of the Federal Council, visiting many parts of the Continent and especially France, where he met the Protestant brethren and was aroused to such an interest in their welfare that on his return to America he recommended that Mr. Roussel should return to France while he himself undertook personally to continue his work. Pastor Roussel on his return carried a considerable amount of money to the churches he represented. Since then through the generosity of an American friend, Pastor Roussel has been able to buy a large estate, the *Domaine des Courmettes* on the Cote d'Azur, twelve kilometres from the Mediterranean as the bird flies, in sight of the Pic des Courmettes of the Maritime Alps and the picturesque ravine of the *Gorges du Loup* (Wolf's Glen), where he has established a sanatorium

for tuberculous children under the glorious name of Gaspard de Coligny.

Meanwhile, in the latter part of 1915, the Franco-Belgian Committee of the Central Evangelical Society of France, representing the Belgian Missionary Church, sent over the Rev. Henri H. Anet, LL.D., whose grandfather, Pastor Leonard Anet, founded the Belgian Missionary Church and whose father, Pastor Kennedy Anet, is General Secretary of that missionary organization. Dr. Anet had been pastor of Missionary churches in Charleroi, Liège and Clabecq, and was in Belgium during the German invasion of 1914. He succeeded however in leaving the country. He arrived in the United States in the autumn of 1915 and gave about 150 addresses in various parts of the United States and Canada. In June, 1916, he returned to France and by the end of September was again in this country, giving more than 110 lectures here and in Canada. While heeding the counsel of King Albert to speak "with moderation" of what he had seen in his own country, he succeeded in opening the eyes of many who were still in doubt as to the culpability of Germany, and thus served the United States in those critical months before our Government declared war. In June, 1917, he again returned to France and after a few months came back to America for a third speaking tour.

In March, 1916, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America appointed and organized the American Huguenot Committee with Dr. William Jay Schieffelin as chairman and Edmond E. Robert as treasurer. This Committee is in a sense the continuation of the Franco-American Committee of Evangelization which was founded in New York toward the end of the

nineteenth century, with the Rev. David James Burrell, D.D., pastor of the Marble Collegiate Church, as president. The Franco-American Committee had been formed to represent in this country the Central Evangelical Society of France, the Evangelistic Committee of the Free Churches of France and the Belgian Missionary Church, and had received several delegations from France and Belgium. It had however ceased to function when Dr. Anet arrived in 1915. Most of the surviving members became members of the new committee which was formed to collect funds for the French and Belgian bodies previously represented by the Franco-American Committee. It was represented by Dr. Anet assisted by Madame Anet, with Percy J. Clibborn as organizing secretary. On December 15, 1918, the American Huguenot Committee was merged in the Committee for Christian Relief in France and Belgium.

At the Quadrennial Meeting of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America held in St. Louis, Missouri, December, 1916, action was taken to send the following message to the French Protestant Committee:

January 19, 1917.

Jules Pfender, 1 rue Bourdaloue Paris IX, France.

We were instructed by Quadrennial meeting to send following reply to your message. Repeat to Roussel and Paul Barde.

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, composed of members appointed by 30 Christian bodies with 18,000,000 of communicants, extends to the Christian brethren in countries now engaged in war its deepest sympathy, born of Christian faith and brotherhood. Our hearts have been touched as we have learned of thel sufferings that war has brought, and have been stirred by the reports of the deepening of the Christian spirit through sorrow and self-devotion.

We pray that their tragic experiences may inspire us all to a

deeper loyalty to the spiritual realities in which believers in Christ are one, and that the time will soon come when differences between nations may be adjusted in the spirit of the Gospel of Christ rather than by appeal to arms. Especially do we hope that the present war may come to a speedy end, and we call upon all Christians throughout the world to cooperate in an effort to establish a peace that shall be lasting because based on justice and good will.

F. M. North, President.
Charles S. Macfarland, General Secretary.

In October 1917 the French Protestant Federation of Churches, solely intent upon expressing to their American brethren the fellowship and appreciation of French Protestants, sent over two delegates, Captain Georges F. Lauga, Chaplain in the French army and Captain A. E. Victor Monod, Chaplain in the French navy, as official representatives of French Protestantism.

These distinguished delegates brought an earnest message to American Christians. They came not to collect funds, but to represent to their brethren in America the fellowship and appreciation of French Protestants. Arrangements had been made by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America for them to deliver their message in the principal cities of the United States, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Coast, and after an official visit to Washington they began their tour. The welcome they everywhere received, both from the people and the press, testified to the admiration for the people of France universally felt in this country.[1]

The impression made by the visit of these two messengers was well summed up in the message which they

[1] See *The Churches of Christ In America and France* (Fleming H. Revell Company).

bore to the French Churches, concluding with these words:

> Our plans for furthering the interchange of thought and life between the religious forces of our nations and our hopes for the conservation and development of your evangelical churches and missions, they will make known to you. We respond heartily to the splendid proposals of your message. We trust that in days to come we may, in some measure, repay the debt we owe to your nation and to your churches, an account whose interest has been for centuries accumulating and which we can never overtake.

The return of these delegates to France was welcomed with exuberant joy. After formally presenting to the French Protestants the message they had brought from the American churches they visited the churches in the principal cities, telling the story of their journey and thrilling their hearers with their account of the sympathy and admiration which Americans everywhere expressed with regard to France.

As a result of the appeals from France and Belgium for moral and financial support and of the interest created by the exchange of visits we began to recognize our responsibility to our brethren across the sea. It became, however, more and more evident that if there was to be an effective relationship established, it would be necessary to unite our efforts over here and to have united action over there. The situation developed into a challenge to our churches. To meet this challenge the Committee for Christian Relief in France and Belgium was organized

The Committee had its inception, November 2, 1917, at an informal conference on Protestant work in France

called by the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council. There were present at the conference representatives of the McAll Mission, The American Huguenot Committee, the Methodist Episcopal Board of Foreign Missions and the two delegates from the French churches—Chaplain Georges Lauga and Chaplain A. E. Victor Monod. The Conference voted,

> That the General Secretary of the Federal Council be requested to secure appointment of a committee composed of representatives of the organizations engaged in Protestant work in France, of which he should be the chairman; this Committee to be brought together for Conference with the understanding that its recommendations be submitted to the various bodies for approval before any action is taken.

On January 7, 1918, the Committee was organized under the name of United Committee on Christian Service for Relief in France and Belgium, which was changed later to Committee for Christian Relief in France and Belgium.

In response to the constitution of a United Committee here the French Protestant Federation immediately took steps to form a similar committee in Paris. (*Comité d'Union Protestante pour les Secours de Guerre en France et en Belgigue.* See Appendix.)

The French Committee sent to the American Committee the following words of greeting:

> We have heard with deep thankfulness that the principle of a general appeal to your churches has been voted, and that you have been the means of such a momentous step, which, apart from its encouragement to us, brings the glad prophesy of a better union and cooperation between sister churches.
>
> We are ready to act in the broadest and most friendly spirit, which very conspicuously permeated our meetings, and gave

new proofs of the victories of God's love and guidance in the midst of our dark and heavy days.

Your action has added a new, and we believe, decisive impulse to friendly love flourishing in spite of apparent triumphs of hatred in this world. We are deeply glad to hope and pray with one heart as we expect new and unmeasured blessings from the action taken unanimously, as a response to your appeal.

Mutual Christian service, as you say, will repay us by spiritual gains for all our material losses, when we have done all that Christian service means.

Both here and in France and Belgium a development toward union of purpose and action is taking place. At the first meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Committee, held February 15, 1918, Dr. Eddison Mosiman was elected Corresponding Secretary and was instructed to secure as complete cooperation as possible on the part of the American churches and their agencies. In this there is continual progress.

Meanwhile the importance that the United Committee should be represented in France by its Chairman was urged by the French Committee and recognized in America. An invitation was thus conveyed by cable, through the French High Commissioner in Washington, M. André Tardieu:

The High Commissioner of the French Republic in the United States

to Rev. Charles S. Macfarland,

General Secretary of the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

Dear Sir:—

I take pleasure in communicating to you the following invitation which I have been requested by the Comité Protestant Français to extend to you:

"French Protestant Committee and all Constituent organizations cordially and earnestly invite the Rev. Charles S. Macfarland to come over here as soon as possible to witness our position, our efforts and our hopes, as a live part of warring France, to visit the Franco-American front, and to report to the American churches."

Signed:

EDOUARD GRUNER, FRANK PUAUX,
ANDRÉ WEISS, CORNÉLIS DE WITT,
ANDRÉ MONOD.

If you will let me know the date on which you propose to sail, I shall be pleased to cable it to France.

Believe me—

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) ANDRE TARDIEU.

This was followed by an invitation to Dr. Macfarland, from the French Government, to be its official guest during his visit.

In response to this invitation Dr. Macfarland sailed for France on June 11. His report to the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council follows in part:

### MEETINGS WITH THE FRENCH CHURCHES

I was met by representatives of the churches of Bordeaux, the Y. M. C. A., the Foyer du Soldat, by Chaplain Victor Monod, representing the French Government, and Jacques Dumas, representing the French Protestant Committee. In Bordeaux I met at lunch a group of Protestant business men and was formally received at a representative meeting of the officials of the Bordeaux churches.

On arrival at Paris, I was met by representatives of the churches and by an officer detailed by the War Office, who welcomed me as the guest of the French Republic. An office, with stenographic assistance, was provided at the House of Missions.

Conferences were held as follows, in and about Paris, on successive days, with the various Protestant organizations: French Protestant Committee, Society of Missions, Theological Faculties, Central Evangelical Society, Blue Cross Society, Joint Meeting of the French Protestant Federation, French Protestant Committee and general representatives of French Protestantism, Commission on Social Service, McAll Mission, Permanent Commission of the Reformed Evangelical Churches, Committee for the Help of Refugees, Representatives of the Reformed Churches, Bureau of the Societies.

I also visited the various Protestant institutions, including the House of Deaconesses, Library of the Protestant Historical Society, l'Eglise St. Jean, "Notre Maison," the various Lutheran homes and asylums at Courbevoie, and similar institutions, as well as several historic churches.

At Paris, on Sunday, June 30, two important meetings were held, one at the American church, at which addresses were made by Rev. Chauncey W. Goodrich, Chaplain Monod of the French Army, Rev. Wilfred Monod of the French Protestant Federation, Ambassador Sharp and myself.

The other was at the historic church of the Oratoire, at which I presented the following message:

### The Message of Christians in America to the People of France

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, through its Administrative Committee, in behalf of Christian people in America sends greetings to their brothers and sisters, the people of France.

Over against all the backgrounds of darkness, over against the magnitude of the costs, the losses, the sacrifices, which we have so deeply deplored, we witness the magnificence of those ideals which have been your priceless possession for these four momentous years and into the heritage of which we are now privileged to enter. France was never richer in all her history than today.

We begin to realize not only the sufferings, but the blessings which are coming out of this conflict. In this companionship of nations into which our nation has entered, we already feel the throbbing life of the League of Nations for which we have prayed. Delegates are passing back and forth between churches

in these nations. As our own Secretary of State said of the two beloved delegates whom you sent to our American churches, "You bring with you the atmosphere and the spirit which we need." We rejoice in the privilege which we have now of entering into your life, of entering into your thought, and of entering into your suffering and sacrifice.

The Federal Council and Christian people of America send words of faith and courage to the France that has bled for us; that fulfils the prophecy spoken of Jesus, the France that has carried our sorrows; to a nation that has kept her eye fixed upon her aims and her ideals, and has not paused to contemplate her wounds, nor count her losses, nor measure her cup of suffering.

They express their rejoicing at the mingling of your messengers of mercy with those whom we have sent across the seas; their joy that we have become one people: they ask the privilege of mingling their tears with those of every French wife and mother.

Our students are turning the pages of your history and literature as never before. They are learning your language. Our religious leaders are seeking to understand your spiritual life. Wherever one goes, in America today, are signs and symbols of the unity which is and which is to be. The orator who desires the applause of his hearers has but to mention France, or if he wishes to touch their hearts has but to tell the story of your sacrifice. You are helping to dethrone the materialistic god who had tried to possess us and upon whose power over us our enemies had counted to stay our hands. We name you when we seek our loans, when we call for our men, when we ask for unselfish restraint that we may share our resources with our allies. You have helped us to clarify our thinking as we measure the distinctions between justice and injustice, between selfishness and sacrifice, between loyalty and faithlessness.

It is not for us to deal with the political and military measures of our governments, but rather to create such a spirit as shall cause them to be guided by the hand of God, to steady and inspire our peoples by keeping ever before them the moral and spiritual ideals which are at stake, to help our nations, in a time of confusion, to maintain our institutions for the renewal of our souls by the worship and service of Almighty God and, above all, to purge our own hearts clean of arrogance and selfishness, that we may help to keep our people, our defenders and our nations close to the Infinite.

It is our duty above all others, as our President expressed it in his last message to our people, to pray Almighty God that He may forgive our sins and shortcomings as a people and purify our hearts to see and love the truth, to accept and defend all things that are just and right, and to purpose only those

righteous acts and judgments which are in conformity with His will; beseeching Him that He will give victory to our armies as they fight for freedom, wisdom to those who take counsel on our behalf in these days of dark struggle and perplexity, and steadfastness to our people to make sacrifice to the utmost, in support of what is just and true, bringing us at last the peace in which men's hearts can be at rest because it is founded upon mercy, justice and good will.

FRANK MASON NORTH,
*President, Federal Council*
*of the Churches of Christ in America.*
JAMES I. VANCE,
*Chairman, Executive Committee.*
ALBERT G. LAWSON,
*Chairman, Administrative Committee.*

June 10, 1918.

Other meetings were held at Protestant churches in Neuilly, Chaumont, Nancy, Gerardmer, Wesserling, Thann, Montbéliard, Valentigney, Aigues-Mortes, Nimes, St. Jean du Gard, Anduze, Troyes, La Force and Ste. Foy. These cities and towns are distributed in the western, southern and eastern sections of France, and thus we reached every available part of the nation. Formal addresses were presented to me, both orally and in written form, in each case, and they would make a considerable volume, replete with historic material, in eloquent and glowing language, of a literary quality worthy of preservation. In nearly all cases the meetings were of a popular nature, attended by the general population and arousing unusual attention.

I visited the various Protestant social, philanthropic and religious institutions in all these localities. These included the noted asylums at La Force, the agricultural colony at Ste. Foy, and the efficient hospital at Bordeaux, which has instituted the first system of trained nurses in France.

Shortly after our arrival in Paris, Ambassador Sharp gave a luncheon attended by representative Protestant ministers, laymen and Y. M. C. A. workers.

I was in conference, more or less all of the time, with the leaders of Protestant forces and, shortly before leaving, two full days were spent with the Federation, the Society of Missions, the Theological Faculties and the United Committee on War Work.

After Religious Service by Protestant Chaplains at Verdun, July, 1918.

The Society of Missions will shortly send Chaplain Daniel Couve as a delegate to the Federal Council for introduction to the Foreign Mission organizations, to confer regarding the mission work in French colonies. He will assist in the work of the Committee on the Moral Aims of the War. It is also expected that the Theological Faculties of Paris and Montauban will send two representatives to the Council for introduction to our Theological Seminaries.

Bishop Wilson, of our Administrative Committee, attended meetings of the French Protestant Committee and of the Federation and was warmly welcomed. His address to the Federation was given with his usual charm and wisdom.

### Civic Interest

In practically every instance, in visiting cities and towns, we were received by the Mayors, Prefects and Councils and similar officials, in most cases by formal addresses. President Poincaré sent his official representative to the meeting at the Oratoire. At St. Amarin and Thann, in Alsace, hundreds of school children greeted us with songs and flowers. We were almost always escorted by troops of Boy Scouts, bands of children or military school brigades. Churches, homes and public buildings were decorated with American and French flags and inscriptions of welcome. In numerous instances we visited the public schools and similar institutions.

In the Cevennes district, the schools, factories and stores were closed during the day. On several occasions, Roman Catholic priests joined in the general reception and gave permission to their members to attend the meetings in Protestant temples. Generally, we were received by the entire community as we came through the streets, and often a much larger crowd was gathered outside the meeting-places than those who gained admission. It was found necessary to arrange admission by ticket only.

Perhaps the most significant meetings were those at the Tower of Constance, over which the Mayor of Aigues-Mortes presided, and the great open-air meeting at Mialet, in the historic Huguenot desert, where I spoke to a large gathering which as-

sembled from miles around, from one of the old portable pulpits which the persecuted Huguenots used to carry out there in sections, and on which rested Roland's pulpit Bible.

In all of these cities and towns I visited the various historic places and institutions, especially those associated with Huguenot history, including the famous Musée du Desert, the repository of Huguenot relics and documents.

### National Interest

The French press both reflected and created an unexpected national interest in our messages. Leon Bailby, in "L'Intransigeant," said: "These sheets of paper in black and white are worth many guns and rifles and many young men coming to reinforce our lines. The material mobilization of this immense people is moved by a high ideal which the barbarians cannot understand but have to acknowledge. Against the enemy's desperate blows we ought to hold on during these weeks which will decide our superiority over them."

The messages and addresses were quoted widely in the press of Greece, Northern Africa, Switzerland, Holland and the Scandinavian countries. They were sent out also by radiogram and circulated by aeroplanes in the effort to reach German soil, and were translated into German for Alsatian and Swiss readers. The religious press, for several issues, was largely given over to the messages and accounts of the meetings.

In various localities we were given luncheons or dinners by members of the House of Deputies, mayors, and industrial and social leaders. At Valentigney I addressed a great gathering on the evening of the 14th of July, composed entirely of working people, and the morning meeting at Montbéliard, that day, was a memorable one.

I addressed and met several groups of representative men at luncheons and dinners, including a luncheon by M. André Tardieu, now General Commissioner of Franco-American Relations, and a large gathering at the Cercle Franco-Americain. I attended the annual Fourth of July dinner in Paris.

### With the French Army

Among the most interesting and valuable experiences was my visit, as volunteer chaplain, with the French army.

The following message was handed to M. Clemenceau, Secretary of War, and also to Marshal Foch, with whom I had supper, at the French Army Headquarters, just at the time of his great victories:

### The Message of Christians in America to the French and Allied Armies

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, through its Administrative Committee, conveys the greetings of American Christians to General Foch, the French army and the Allied armies.

For four momentous years you have been fighting the battles of the whole civilized world for its security and liberty. Attacked by a gigantic force which had for many years been making ready, with scrupulous care, for its assault upon those principles of righteousness and peace which all the world holds dear, you have fought bravely, and endured with splendid fortitude, upon a field of honor which you have kept unstained by cruelty and on which you have left no marks of national disgrace.

We rejoice that the soldiers of the American army have before them this example of the depth of your loyalty and the height of your code of honor.

The Christian people of America are gratified that they are, from henceforth, not only the admiring and often the amazed witnesses of your service in their behalf and in behalf of all mankind, but that today their soldiers enter gladly into the heritage of your devotion and reverently into the fellowship of your sacrifice and suffering. From henceforth you endure and struggle not only for us, but with us.

It is with the deepest satisfaction that we have assigned our sons to the generalship of your commander-in-chief, and to you we convey a message identical with that to our own soldiers:

'You are the defenders of our rights, our liberties, our souls; but you are more than that. You are the protectors of all who suffer wrong and injustice; but you are infinitely more than that. You stand for the moral convictions and the spiritual ideals of the civilized world, for judgments never so determined and for spiritual vision never so clear as in this hour.

In the presence of God, we stand with you in solemn league

and covenant, until the last Teutonic heel shall cease to desecrate this sacred soil, until again the unsullied lilies shall bloom in all their glory in the fields of France. Upon this "frontier of freedom," which is not a mere line of trenches, but is a spiritual border, marking the line between honor and dishonor, between justice and wrong, our voices shall mingle, "They shall not pass." Here we stand together, until the relentless integrity of the universe is vindicated and we can live in a world of nations, clean and honorable and undefiled, and as the red, the white and the blue of the Tri-color of France and the Stars and Stripes of the United States have become interwoven, so from henceforth we are prepared to live together, and, if God wills, to die together.

We rejoice to report to you that the Christian people of America are your support, not only by their loans and gifts, their provision for your physical needs, both for active service and for experiences of suffering, not only in their earnest prayers and sentiments of affection. In a spirit of constant self-humiliation and penitence, with hearts reaching out for divine wisdom and grace by the formulation, the deepening and the unhesitating and uncompromising expression of those great moral convictions of our people, they seek to strengthen their minds and hearts with yours, as you meet a foe that knows only the right of force, with arms and men who symbolize the force of right.

We offer our tenderest prayers for your mothers, wives and little children. We pray that God may give to us and to you the grace, the moral courage and the spiritual strength to do His holy will, that we may ever be the witnesses of truth and righteousness and holy love.'

FRANK MASON NORTH,
*President, Federal Council*
*of the Churches of Christ in America.*
JAMES I. VANCE,
*Chairman, Executive Committee.*
ALBERT G. LAWSON,
*Chairman, Administrative Committee.*

June 10, 1918.

Marshal Foch, who is a deeply religious man, expressed great pleasure on reading the message, and my visit with him was one never to be forgotten. In Paris, I had a pleasant conference with Marshal Joffre and paid a visit to General Niox, at the Hôtel des Invalides.

The Franco-American front was visited from Verdun to Belfort. The war office detailed Chaplain Monod, of the Army,

and Major de Ganay, of the War Department, to accompany me, and the French Protestant Committee sent Professor John Viénot. We were provided with two motor cars, an official photographer and a moving picture operator.

Religious services were held at Chaumont, Verdun, Nancy, Gerardmer, Wesserling and Thann. The service in the citadel at Verdun was a most impressive one, attended by several generals and their staffs, many officers and soldiers, Protestant chaplains and Y. M. C. A. workers. At Verdun, I was also received with charming cordiality by the Roman Catholic Abbé, about a dozen Catholic chaplains and a Hebrew chaplain.

We visited many of the devastated towns and villages, some of which were at the time under bombardment. I was a visitor to several war work institutions and camps, such as munitions works, aviation camps, tank headquarters, war gardens and similar centers. Many hospitals of various stages and kinds were fully inspected. Several of the French army Y. M. C. A.'s (Foyers du Soldat) were visited, one of them, at Fort Douaumont, being deep underground and others practically in the trenches.

In all places where our meetings were in military zones they were formally attended by the French generals in command of the district.

### The French Government

The invitation of the government, that I should be an official guest, was not a mere formality. The visits to President Poincaré, M. Clemenceau, M. Pichon, Minister of Foreign Affairs, André Tardieu and other national leaders, were attended by marked cordiality, and the hospitality of the Republic was generous to an extreme degree. I traveled between 3,000 and 4,000 miles by motor car and each and every function, both with the army and in civic circles, was attended by representatives of the government. Every facility was placed at my disposal and from the time I landed until I sailed for home my commission relieved me of all encumbering formalities and accorded a freedom of movement which enabled me to cover an unexpected amount of visitation in the time at my disposal.

The Message to the People of France, presented to President Poincaré, was, by his order, printed in the Official Journal of the Republic.

### The Belgian Army

Upon receiving intimation from Chaplain-in-Chief Pierre Blommaert, of the Belgian army, that a visit to the seat of the Belgian Government, to King Albert and the Belgian army would be welcomed by the Protestant chaplains and graciously arranged for me by the Belgian Government as its guest, I visited Havre, accompanied by Chaplain Blommaert, and met Prime Minister Cooremans, Count Goblet-d'Alviella, Minister of State; Carton de Wiart, Minister of Justice, and lunched with M. P. Hymans, Minister of Foreign Affairs. We also held conferences with Minister Brand Whitlock.

On the way to the front, at Etretat, we called upon General Leman, the defender of Liége, only recently released from German imprisonment. At the Belgian headquarters we were received by the General Staff and officers were detailed to accompany us to the trenches.

A message was presented to King Albert in part as follows:

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, through its General Secretary, in behalf of Christian people in America, sends greeting to their brothers and sisters, the people of Belgium.

At the most critical hour in history your nation and its brave army defended the civilized world against the ruthless invasion of its rights and liberty.

Over against all the backgrounds of darkness, over against the magnitude of the costs, the losses, the sacrifices, which we have so deeply deplored, we witness the magnificence of those ideals which have been your priceless possession for these four momentous years and into the heritage of which we are now privileged to enter.

We begin to realize not only the sufferings, but the blessings which are coming out of this conflict. In this companionship of nations into which our nation has entered, we already feel the throbbing life of the League of Nations for which we have prayed. We rejoice in the privilege which we have now of entering into your life, of entering into your thought, and of entering into your suffering and sacrifice.

The Federal Council and Christian people of America send words of faith and courage to a nation that has kept her eye fixed upon her aims and her ideals, and has not paused to contemplate her wounds, nor count her losses, nor measure her cup of suffering.

They ask the privilege of mingling their tears with those of every wife and mother in Belgium.

They send a message of gratitude to your brave soldiers.

It is not for us to deal with the political and military measures of our governments, but rather to create such a spirit as shall cause them to be guided by the hand of God, to steady and inspire our people by keeping ever before them the moral and spiritual ideals which are at stake, to help our nations, in a time of confusion, to maintain our institutions for the renewal of our souls by the worship and service of Almighty God and, above all, to purge our own hearts clean of arrogance and selfishness, that we may help to keep our people, our defenders and our nations close to the Infinite.

At his headquarters we met the Belgian Minister of War and his cabinet, to whom I presented the same message as to King Albert, with the following as an additional introduction:

To the Minister of War of Belgium:

In behalf of the Christian people of America, represented by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, I desire in addition to the message to the Belgian people, to convey a special greeting, through you, to the army of Belgium.

History will ever have a glowing page for the momentous days of 1914, when you saved democracy and freedom for the nations of Europe and America.

The words devoted to your army, in the message which I have the honor to convey to your King, are not the utterances of mere formality. They speak the heart of the American people.

The King's response was cordial and earnest in his appreciation of the spirit of the American churches. The message was printed in the Official War Record.

We held a conference with the Belgian Protestant chaplains and returned to Havre, by way of Dunkirk, Calais and Boulogne.

A motor car was provided by the Government for the entire journey from Havre to the trenches and back. The Belgian government proposes to send Chaplain Blommaert to America

as a representative of the army and its religious work, to convey to our churches the Belgian situation.

I regard the hours spent as a Volunteer Chaplain with the Belgian army a high privilege. At King Albert's request I went through many sectors of the trenches and was deeply impressed by the patience and valor of the men who, for four long years, have lived and fought under circumstances of such awful privation and difficulty.

On July 3, I presented the following message from the Boy Scouts of America:

To the Boy Scouts of France and Allied Nations

*Greetings*

*BE IT KNOWN* That the Boy Scouts of America, desiring to give expression to the deepening relationships between the Boy Scouts of France and the allied nations have this day appointed Dr. Charles S. Macfarland as Special Commissioner of the Boy Scouts of America, and have requested him to serve as a special envoy for the purpose of personally presenting to you the greetings on behalf of the 442,000 scouts and scout officials of the United States of America.

Each one of these scouts and scout officials is pledged to a program of war activities under the leadership of our Government and stands ready to make any sacrifice in order that the war may be won.

The valiant and courageous work of the scouts and soldiers of our allies is both an inspiration and a challenge for our best effort. We are comrades in this great struggle.

May we stand together, with hands across the sea, our feet firmly fixed on the rock-like principles of the Scout Movement, in order that life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness may be the heritage of all the peoples of the world.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, the officers of the Boy Scouts of America hereto affix their signatures, and the seal of the Boy Scouts of America.

Colin H. Livingston,
*President, Boy Scouts of America.*
James E. West,
*Secretary, National Council, and Chief Scout Executive, Boy Scouts of America.*

I received from the French Protestant Federation the following message to bring to you:

Paris, August 20, 1918.

MESSAGE OF THE FRENCH PROTESTANT FEDERATION TO THE CHRISTIANS OF AMERICA

The Council of the French Protestant Federation, together with the Protestants of all denominations, have with deep feeling taken cognizance of the message which our brother, Dr. Macfarland, has brought us in your name.

This message, vibrant of faith and sympathy, has been a powerful consolation to us in the grievous hours when we, with disquietude, have invoked the aid of the Most High while the enemy was working toward Paris in a supreme effort to crush right by force, to establish in Europe the domination of triumphant militarism, disdainful of the liberty and independence of peoples. . . .

Your wonderful civil missionaries, your women, your daughters, members of your Young Men's Christian Association and Young Women's Christian Association have come with an unceasing devotion and an inexhaustible generosity to assuage these incredible sufferings.

Like the Good Samaritan, they have come to bend over the unfortunate victims of this most frightful of invasions and to carry to them words of consolation and continuous and abundant material aid.

May God be thanked for all which you are preparing to do in the way of restoring the ruins of our unfortunate provinces and of revivifying the life and industrial activity of our richest fields, now totally in ruins!

You have come to bring on the part of the Most High to those ready to succumb under the blows of adversity, this message of faith and hope which shows the most unbelieving that God does not abandon him who puts his trust in Him, and that today He puts in the hearts of His children that spirit of devotion and abnegation which Christ came to teach us here below.

The sons of Huguenots who for so many years have suffered for their faith upon the soil of this devastated country, which many could not bear to abandon, will fight once more with your aid, even to the final triumph for the liberty of the oppressed of all nations and for the restoration of our terrestrial country. Strong in this union, we have the firm certitude that allied in this strife, we shall soon rejoice to bless God with one heart in the triumph of the great cause whose defense has cemented once more the bond of union between the new and the old continent.

Why should we not add that we expect still more from the pity of our God and from your charity? May the spirit breathe upon the dry bones to make them live; may faith revive; may piety develop among us and may the frightful trial which has torn our hearts become the beginning of a revival which shall give youth to our churches and new vigor to spread through our dear country the evangel of our Lord, Jesus Christ. To this task also, our brothers in the faith, you will give your co-operation and will contribute in the most valuable way to the great work of God for the safety of the world.

(Signed) E. GRUNER,
*President, Protestant Federation of France.*
(Signed) ELIE BONNET,
*Secretary, Protestant Federation of France.*

## THE CHURCHES OF FRANCE AND BELGIUM

### RELIGION IN GENERAL

It is obvious that France will rise out of this war a powerful nation, with tremendous moral influence in the world of nations. Therefore the religious life and institutions of France are of great significance to Europe, to the Christian world at large and in many fields of missions.

If I am not mistaken, and I feel sure I am not, there is going to be a significant change of attitude towards religion and religious institutions on the part of the national leaders, publicists and of the Government itself. These agencies, instead of taking a neutral attitude, in place of a restraint which forbids expression of sympathy or encouragement for any form of religion, will take the very different course of expressing sympathy toward all forms of religion. They will not adopt or recognize a religion, but will recognize and encourage religion.

In the new, vital and warmly sympathetic relationship arising out of the war, America and France are going to influence each other's life deeply and this cannot fail and must not fail to include their religious life.

There are three elements in France, a large body of Roman Catholics, a small body of Protestants and a large "third party" whose magnitude it is difficult to estimate, which is seeking light.

## The Protestant Churches

The Protestant churches are relatively few in number, but have an influence tremendously disproportionate to their numbers. This is due to the personal strength of their leaders. In official and commercial circles they are always strong and often dominant. They are a power in community life. Therefore, it is by no means an adequate mode of estimating Protestant forces to do it by numerical calculation, especially when we keep in mind what I have called the "third party" in France.

The Protestant churches have a certain conservatism and want of constructive method and action, this being incident to a group who for centuries have been on the defensive and have had to maintain their existence by close and often eclectic organization. They are thus not so strong among the common people as they are in what may be termed the higher circles. Their present temper and methods are probably subject to some considerable transformation.

They have, however, a history, traditions, an apostolic succession, a power of personality and a clear grasp of fundamental religious principles, with an adequate numerical force, to make them the foundation of a great religious structure in France.

The war has weakened their material resources, but has served to strengthen their vital spiritual principles and life. They constitute in large measure the soul of the nation.

Undoubtedly, like religious institutions the world over, they are under process of many changes and I feel sure they are ready to pass from a conservative defensive attitude to a constructive evangelical development adapted to the modern social conditions and life of France.

Other agencies are contributing to this procedure, the development of the French Y. M. C. A. (Foyer du Soldat) in the army, the work of our Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A., and the American Red Cross both in the army and among the people. It is also induced by the general intermingling of French and American life and ideals. The Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. are sure to become great forces in France.

### The Future

This lays a great opportunity before American Christianity and involves a profound obligation. Whatever we do must be constructive, and not offensive or destructive. But I have no hesitancy in saying that France should be as open and free in her religious life as America. To assume that a mere matter of numerical proportion should determine the religious life of a whole people is no more sensible in relation to France than it would be in relation to America.

Constructively, openly, in a spirit of charity and good will to all men and institutions, it is the duty of the American churches to help their brethren in France, to assist in the rebuilding of the destroyed Protestant temples, to help them build up before the eyes of the French people those principles of freedom and democracy in religion which we cherish for ourselves.

Three of the constituent bodies of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America have related bodies in France, the Methodist Episcopal, the Baptist and the Lutheran churches. There are equally close affinities of polity and form of doctrinal expression between the various Reformed bodies in France and several of our constituent denominations.

These bodies in France are federated in an organization which is increasing in its vitality. Protestant life in France has been weakened, as in America, by the excessive number of denominations. This is, however, increasingly recognized. If what we are to do in France is to have an effect upon the life of its people, it must be done without the confusing shadows of apparent or real divisiveness. There are multitudes of what I have called the "third party" who are looking for the light of those fundamental principles of freedom and democracy exemplified in the Protestant religion. If it can be objectified before their eyes clearly, they will recognize it.

There are thus these various religious bodies in France. To strengthen religious life in France we must strengthen them as they are constituted. We cannot reconstitute them. It will be natural and, indeed, appropriate that the corresponding bodies in America will wish to establish especial relations in France

with their sister churches of similar form. But let it be done through joint and common consultation and plan. The religious bodies and the Federation in France are ready for such procedure.

Let us strengthen all the parts in such manner that we strengthen the whole at the same time.

### Immediate Help

We must continue and greatly increase our financial help to these impoverished churches.

Among their most important organizations is their United Committee, which is a corresponding body with our United Committee on Christian Service for Relief in France and Belgium. Among the constituent organizations of the French United Committee is the Committee for the Aid of Refugees and Devastated Regions. While in Paris I secured an arrangement with the American Red Cross for cooperation.

### The Belgian Churches

These churches are associated closely with the French churches and should be included with the plans under consideration. All that I have urged regarding France, perhaps in lesser degree, is true of Belgium, or, in any event, should be made true.

Indeed, there is just a little danger in the new relationships between the two larger nations that little Belgium and the days of 1914 may be overlooked.

### Mutual Relations

These common problems will be met by such practical procedure as follows:

1. A Handbook of French Protestantism for American readers.
2. A Handbook of American Protestantism for French readers.
3. The translation into French of some of the literature of the Federal Council and the translation of works of our modern writers.

4. Conference between the Theological Seminaries of the two nations, regarding curricula and the exchange of professors and students.

5. French Protestant literature in American libraries and American Protestant literature in French libraries.

6. Exchange of Preachers.

7. Consultation between Foreign Mission bodies of the two nations.

God has set before America an open door in France and Belgium. Other agencies, including interests social, educational and philanthropic, are seizing the opportunity for service to these nations and are already on the field. They are preparing the way for the churches.

We have, on the part of the churches, an opportunity for consecrated Christian statesmanship and service, calling for our earnest prayer, our deepest thought, our wisest and most effective action. Such are my most profound convictions.

Respectfully submitted,

CHARLES S. MACFARLAND,
*Commissioner to France.*

At the call of the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council, a "Joint Conference of American Agencies," convened at Yonkers, N. Y., on October 23, 1918, to consider the question of uniting all the American religious agencies interested in France and Belgium in a comprehensive program for the relief and reconstruction of the Protestant forces of the war stricken countries of France and Belgium.

Represented at the Conference were: delegates from the various churches at work in France, or having related work there, including the Lutheran, the Baptist, the Methodist Episcopal and the churches of the Presbyterian and Reformed Alliance; the American McAll Association; the Administrative Committee of the Fed-

eral Council; and the Committee for Christian Relief in France and Belgium.

The following were among the recommendations:

I. That immediate relief be given to the Protestant churches of France and Belgium and that each of the bodies to be represented on the reorganized United Committee be requested to make an appropriation through the Committee for this purpose; and that $300,000 be raised in this way to cover the period of the next six months.

II. That each of the bodies at work, or having related work, in France and Belgium consider action in regard to:—

1.—Requesting the denomination, in addition to its own work or related work in France and Belgium, to make provision to help support in general the work of the churches of France and Belgium.

2.—The securing of constant financial assistance to its own work or related body in France and Belgium.

3.—The strengthening and developing of its own work or related body in France and Belgium.

4.—The securing in this procedure of the fullest consultation and cooperation with the various other bodies having work in France, and, also, to the fullest possible extent, with the United Committee.

III. That the various denominations represented be requested to make provision for the ordering and securing of copies of the Handbook to distribute to their pastors, to the end that all the local churches may be fully informed of the work and its magnitude.

IV. That each denomination at work, or having related work, in France, be requested to appoint officially at least two representatives to serve on the General Committee of the United Committee, one of whom shall be appointed to serve on the Executive Committee.

V. That the United Committee be asked to approach the other evangelical bodies not officially represented at this Conference to take action similar to that involved in the above recommendations.

VI. That the question of including work in Italy, Russia and other countries in addition to the present work in France and Belgium be taken under consideration after the fullest consultation with the religious bodies having interests in such countries.

VII. That the United Committee be requested to appoint a strong representative sub-committee to consult with the American Red Cross regarding the relief of French and Belgian Protestants.

VIII. That the United Committee consider the advisability of arranging for a large delegated conference representative of the evangelical churches in order to set the whole program for France and Belgium before the American churches as a whole.

These recommendations are being carried out. The churches are uniting in this larger plan and the interest in French and Belgian Protestantism is increasing. This uniting of our forces in this work is of great significance for the future of France and Belgium and for the cause of democracy and freedom in religion.

One of the evident tasks of this Committee is to acquaint the Christian people of America with the Protestant institutions of France and Belgium and with the aspirations and ideals of their people.

In making the French situation better known to our churches the Committee is receiving much support from the French High Commission at Washington, D. C. In the summer of 1918 the Commission secured the services of the Rev. Professor Charles Bieler of the Presbyterian College of Montreal, Canada, who is familiar with the French churches and kindly placed him at the disposal of the Committee. Dr. Bieler also bore a commission from the French Protestant Committee and one from the *Comité d'Entr'aide*. He spoke on behalf of French

Protestantism before many churches and other organizations.

The response to these efforts is deeply appreciated in France. This is indicated by the recent reception to Dr. Macfarland by the French Government and people as well as by the French churches. Dr. Macfarland has given some intimation of this in his report, but does not begin to indicate the deep significance of his visit in opening up a great field for both French and American Protestant forces.

The treatment of his visit by the entire French press, daily, weekly and monthly, was remarkable not only for the manner in which all the movements of the American Church Commissioner were followed and his utterances recorded, but for the editorial comment and for the magazine articles which appeared. One of these may be selected as an example. Julien de Narfon writes in *La Revue Hebdomadaire* on "La Croisade Americaine et la Mission du Rev. Macfarland:"

> It is manifest that we are discovering America. Not its geography but its soul. And the charm of the discovery is no less than the surprises which it reveals. What was our conception, the conception of many of us, of an American? A sort of *demi-sauvage* whose *demi-civilization,* absorbed in constant material interests, had no other object than the pursuit of gold. I ask forgiveness of the grandchildren of the heroes of the War of Independence, of the people of the great sister republic, who have brought to us so fraternally the decisive help in this war, for our ignorance. It is true however that we little suspected the real American spirit, its elevation of thought, its generosity, its delicacy of feeling. Unfortunately we have been more attentive to matters limited by our own horizon and have known little of other peoples.
>
> That which has brought the most astonishment to us, in the

case of America, is, I believe, the profoundly religious character of its participation in the world war. We have had the impression that it was not possible to have a strong religious life in a country seemingly divided in matters of confession and belief. The First Consul indeed said: "There is not enough religion in France to make two religions." It seems however permissible to say, in a true sense, that there is enough religion in America to make many religions.

A few weeks ago there came to France a man whom M. Maurice Prax has called "The messenger of souls." It was the General Secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. He brought a double message from Christians of America, to the people of France and to the soldiers of France. His visit was that of an Ambassador of great spiritual power, or to put it better still, a messenger from the soul of America to the soul of France. He exercised in remarkable measure the gift of extemporaneity. His eloquence was that of sobriety and force. There was constant harmony between what he said and the way in which he said it. The messenger from the American Churches was a man both of action and of thought. He revealed in the highest degree the Protestant spirit without at any moment being merely negative or in the slightest degree offensive.

"Do nations have souls?" This was the question which he asked and answered, while with us. "The soul of the Nation": this was a familiar expression. It was dealt with in a profoundly religious sense in his splendid discourse the 30th of June at the Church of the Oratoire.

While, as the guest of the Government, Dr. Macfarland was received and welcomed with enthusiasm by all the people of France, its army and its citizens at home, the distinctively religious character of his mission naturally served its highest purpose in strengthening the bonds existing between Protestantism in America and in France. This in no way lessened the national interest in him and his mission. America is a Christian nation. France is a Christian nation. And because the mission of Dr. Macfarland bore the true marks of the spirit of Christ exhibited in all his messages and addresses, not only the Protestant element but through our whole nation, we have welcomed him

far less as the representative of Protestant denominations than as an ambassador from the soul of America to the soul of France. Therefore his visit has been of great significance in uniting our two countries, in developing the love of the one people for the other. Indeed it is religion that gives strength and force to love.

America owes to France its existence as a nation. The great republic has now paid it royally. We look to it as our great hope. By it we have been saved and with us has been saved the liberty of the world. I hope and I profoundly believe that it is the destiny of America not only to save us from our enemies but to save us from ourselves, showing us how to harmonize authority and liberty; religion and democracy. France politically is mutilated. America will help us to learn how a great free people shall find the right place for authority in a well-organized society, to become a great democracy which will not commit the folly of imagining that the first duty of a democracy consists in getting rid of the idea of God.

In the new bond between America and France, the visit of Dr. Macfarland, although he held it close to its religious purpose, has had a great political influence in that it has thus set clearly before our vision the truest and highest ideals of democracy.

One could hardly get a clearer comprehension of the possibility of a great evangelical movement in France than by reading the entire article from which the above selections have been made, as well as many other similar magazine articles.

As a result of the Chairman's visit to Belgium the Belgian Government sent Major Pierre Blommaert, Chief Protestant Chaplain of the Army, to represent the Belgian people in America. Major Blommaert also represents the National Church, the oldest Protestant Church of Belgium. He has done much to acquaint the Christians of America with the Protestants of Belgium.

Chaplain Blommaert brought a message from the

Protestant chaplains and soldiers to the Christians of America in part as follows:

The Protestant chaplains and soldiers of the army of Belgium received with deepfelt gratitude the message from the Christian people of America addressed to the people of Belgium. The emotions which the message has awakened in their hearts will not remain mere feelings, but will be transformed into new activities. To be understood does not leave us indifferent, and your message proves that you have understood us in our sufferings, our struggles, our aspirations.

A message such as yours reveals to us again the principles for which we are fighting and even strengthens our purposes. Notwithstanding the pacific feelings that have always been in evidence in our small country, we are proud in the realization that it was our soldiers at Liége who struck the first blow at the formidable and criminal power which attacked the liberties of the world.

But if your sympathy for our fallen ones, our ruined towns, our prolonged sufferings has deeply moved us, nothing touches our hearts more than to be understood in our religious aspirations. We, Protestants of Belgium, know the price of convictions so dearly bought. Conflicts have not been spared us in the past to obtain the right of seeking Jesus Christ freely, of discovering His message and of proclaiming Him as our Saviour. And if the war has so placed us that all that we have inherited nationally and spiritually is now threatened, it has also proved to us that in placing ourselves on the basis of the Gospel we have found the only foundation that can never be shaken.

These relationships are being rapidly extended and deepened at the present moment. On November 13 the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council cabled the following message to King Albert of Belgium:

His Majesty
Albert, King of the Belgians

The Administrative Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, in session assembled, expresses

its gratification that your brave army and people are now reunited in their land and homes.

To this message the King sent a gracious reply.

Upon his return to Belgium Chaplain Blommaert carried the following message from the Federal Council:

FROM THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA TO THE NATIONAL UNION OF EVANGELICAL CHURCHES OF BELGIUM AND THE BELGIAN CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY CHURCH

DEAR BRETHREN:

The world was told that Christianity had broken down; that civilization itself had collapsed, and many were the signs that seemed to confirm this verdict. But there came a new story out of old Belgium. From the most favored to the plainest, the Belgian people stood behind their King. Their unity and their faith in God and righteousness stood the severest testing which ever came to a nation.

Your brave nation has held "the frontier of freedom." We pay tribute to your soldiers, who for years were subjected to the keenest of suffering. We pay tribute to the plain, home-loving men and women who have been so true to the best in them.

In the past, notable women have honored Belgium, and now godly women, through all these years of conflict, have sustained your country by their strength of faith, their toil of love and their patience of hope. Facing well nigh insurmountable obstacles, their trust in God and their confidence in one another, have kept alive the purest ideals of Christian faith.

We rejoice that your Evangelical churches have been sustained by stalwart men and women, indomitable in courage, tireless in service and splendidly persistent to the end. They have emulated the zeal of the Christians of the catacombs and added to the glory of the witness of the martyrs, in their sterling manhood, their self-restraint, their fervent devotion and their self-sacrifice even unto death. We rejoice with you in these living letters of Christ.

We could not enter fully into the fellowship of your sufferings, for we have been spared the outrages perpetrated on your

soil, but we have esteemed it a privilege to enter into the fellowship of your determination and your triumph, and now to join most heartily and unitedly with all your people in gratitude to our God and Father for the ending of the war and the coming of peace.

Our words cannot exaggerate your deeds nor the debt we owe to Belgian Christians for their spiritual vision and their steadfast endurance, honorable in the sight of God and man. It is now our great joy to congratulate you upon the triumph of your years of struggle and the vindication of your deepest convictions.

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America has been happy to receive your representatives, the Reverend Henri Anet and the Reverend Chaplain Pierre Blommaert. Their message so freighted with weighty and compelling interest brought forth the heartfelt sympathy and support of our people for your people, and their visits have been for the mutual strengthening of the bonds of brotherhood between the churches of our two countries.

That the spirit of Christ may guide the great Peace Council to form such a Fellowship of Nations as will secure to the smaller and weaker peoples the first consideration in the time of need is our earnest prayer. This will but fulfill the Master's command that the strong bear the burdens of the weak. In the early days a Roman said, "Behold how these Christians love one another." May the day hasten when the world shall not only accept the great truth that God made of one blood every nation of men to dwell on all the face of the earth, but shall also establish its Covenants of Brotherhood that the tribute of the future historian may be, "Behold how these nations love one another!"

We were rejoiced to receive the stirring message of the chaplains of your army, by the hand of Chaplain Blommaert, and we now commission him to carry to you this expression of our faith, our hope and our love in which we are sure our churches join as one.

By order of the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

ALBERT G. LAWSON, *Chairman.*

CHARLES S. MACFARLAND, *General Secretary.*

December 30, 1918.

The following members of the Committee for Christian Relief in France and Belgium and of the Federal Council are now in France or on their way there, and their reports will be of great moment: Rev. Frank Mason North, President of the Federal Council, Rev. James I. Vance, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Federal Council, Rev. James H. Franklin, Bishop Walter R. Lambuth, Rev. W. W. Pinson, Rev. Frederick Lynch and Rev. Sidney L. Gulick.

There is also in France another committee appointed by the General War Time Commission of the Federal Council, and it is commissioned to consult relative to mutual exchange between the theological seminaries of the two countries. President Henry Churchill King, Chairman of the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook, is also in consultation with the French Protestant committee appointed to deal with the same question.

In addition to the delegates from France and Belgium already mentioned, other recent visits have been made to America. Rev. Ruben Saillens came at the invitation of the Northern Baptist Convention. Rev. Emmanuel Chastand, Directeur de l'École de Rééducation des Mutilés de la Guerre and Vice Président du Comité de Rapprochement Franco-Américain from Nantes, came under the auspices of the American Red Cross, on behalf of the re-education of mutilated soldiers. Mademoiselle Fuchs, Madame Bernard, Madame Avril de Ste. Croix and Mademoiselle Bourat came to assist the Young Women's Christian Association in the war work campaign. At the present moment, Chaplain Daniel Couve, Assistant Director of the Society of Missions, Paris,

is here under the auspices of the Church Peace Union and the Federal Council. Dr. Anna Hamilton of the Protestant hospital at Bordeaux has come at the suggestion of the American Red Cross to secure funds for the construction of a new building.

Of immediate importance, of course, is the sending of financial assistance. The movement for the financial support of the French and Belgian churches in their task of reconstruction is well under way. During 1918 about $143,000 was sent by the Federal Council, in addition to $106,000 from the American McAll Association. The total amount during the years of the war has been about $400,000 by the Federal Council and individuals associated with its committee, and $293,000 by the American McAll Association. In addition to this, gifts have been sent direct by individuals, through the personal mediation of Dr. Macfarland.

The Committee for Christian Relief in France and Belgium has called for an immediate $300,000, and requests for 1919 the sum of $3,000,000. A nation-wide campaign to secure this help is just beginning as this volume goes to the press. It is under the direction of official representatives of several great denominations united in the Federal Council's committee.

Meanwhile, representatives of these churches are in conference in France and Belgium.

The outlook for evangelical religion in these nations is full of hope and promise, and this little book goes forth with the prayer that it may be of service to this great end.

# APPENDIX

## COMMITTEE FOR CHRISTIAN RELIEF IN FRANCE AND BELGIUM,
105 East 22d Street, New York.

### Plan of Organization

The aim of the Committee for Christian Relief in France and Belgium is to represent all the Protestant bodies of France and Belgium in one common Committee; and all the Protestant denominations and religious agencies of America working in the interests of the Protestant bodies of France and Belgium.

The purpose is:

1. To conserve and develop the Evangelical churches, institutions and missions of France and Belgium.
2. To further the interchange of thought and life between the religious forces of these two nations and the United States.

The membership consists of representatives of all the co-operating denominations in the United States and of all other co-operating bodies: and of other persons interested in the Religious Institutions of France and Belgium. Each co-operating body or denomination shall be entitled to at least two representatives duly appointed or elected by the body or denomination.

The Executive Committee shall consist of at least one representative of each co-operating body or denomination duly appointed or elected by said body or denomination.

### Co-operating Bodies

American Baptist Foreign Mission Society
American Bible Society
American McAll Association
Methodist Episcopal Board of Foreign Missions
The World's Christian Endeavor Union

### Executive Committee

Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, Chairman.
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Prof. Jean C. Bracq
Rev. Arthur J. Brown
Rev. William I. Chamberlain
Rev. Francis E. Clark
Rev. Charles S. Cleland
Rev. Henry Sloane Coffin
Mrs. James C. Colgate

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Rev. James I. Good
William A. Harbison
Rev. William I. Haven
Rev. Hubert C. Herring
Mrs. Frank B. Kelley
Rev. Frederick Lynch
Paul G. McIntire
Rev. H. G. Mendenhall
Rev. Frank Mason North
Rev. W. W. Pinson
Rev. R. C. Reed
Edmond E. Robert
William Jay Schieffelin
Rev. Charles J. Smith
Alfred R. Kimball, Treasurer
Rev. Eddison Mosiman, Corresponding Secretary

### General Committee

(*Names of Executive Committee not repeated*)

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Rev. Maitland Alexander
Rev. A. L. Allais
Mrs. A. A. Anderson
Bishop William F. Anderson
Mrs. H. Roswell Bates
Mrs. Thomas F. Bayard
Rev. Augustus F. Beard
Mrs. William Borden
Mrs. E. M. Bowman
Rev. Wm. Hugh V. Boyle
Rev. William Adams Brown
Rev. David James Burrell
Rev. Ernst W. Bysshe
Rev. Charles L. Carhart
Rev. Charles F. Carter
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Rev. A. H. Fish
Rev. James H. Franklin
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Rev. S. G. Inman
Prof. Charles M. Jacobs
Rev. W. S. Jacobs
James R. Joy
John H. M. Knox
Rev. Frederick H. Knubel
Bishop Walter R. Lambuth
Rt. Rev. William Lawrence
Rev. Albert G. Lawson
Mrs. Henry P. Loomis
Rev. Malcolm J. McLeod
John T. Manson
George W. Marston
Samuel Mather
Rev. William P. Merrill
Rev. W. W. Moore
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John Wanamaker
Eli Whitney
Bishop Luther B. Wilson
Rev. A. V. Wittmeyer
Mrs. Cornelius Woelfkin

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*Corresponding French and Belgian Committee*

COMITE D'UNION PROTESTANTE POUR LES SECOURS DE GUERRE EN FRANCE ET EN BELGIQUE
102 Boulevard Arago, Paris, France

Representing:

Fédération Protestante de France
Comité Protestant Français
Comité Protestante d'Entr'Aide
Union Nationale des Églises Réformées Évangéliques
Union Nationale des Églises Reformées
Église Évangélique Luthérienne de France
Union des Églises Évangéliques Libres
Église Évangélique Méthodiste
Union des Églises Baptistes
Mission Française Église Méthodiste Épiscopale
Société Centrale Évangélique
Union des Églises Protestantes Évangéliques de Belgique
Église Chrétienne Missionaire Belge
Mission Populaire Évangélique (MacAll)

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